

Weekly Compilation of  
**Presidential  
Documents**



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## WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

## PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, December 15, 1995

**Executive Order 12982—Ordering the Selected Reserve of the Armed Forces to Active Duty**

*December 8, 1995*

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including sections 121 and 12304 of title 10, United States Code, I hereby determine that it is necessary to augment the active armed forces of the United States for the effective conduct of operations in and around former Yugoslavia. Further, under the stated authority, I hereby authorize the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretary of Transportation with respect to the Coast Guard when it is not operating as a service in the Department of the Navy, to order to active duty any units, and any individual members not assigned to a unit organized to serve as a unit, of the Selected Reserve.

This order is intended only to improve the internal management of the executive branch and is not intended to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by a party against the United States, its agencies, its officers, or any person.

This order shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
December 8, 1995.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:46 a.m., December 11, 1995]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on December 12. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Message to the Congress on Ordering the Selected Reserve of the Armed Forces to Active Duty**

*December 8, 1995*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I have today, pursuant to section 12304 of title 10, United States Code, authorized the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretary of Transportation with respect to the Coast Guard when it is not operating as a service in the Department of the Navy, to order to active duty any units, and any individual members not assigned to a unit organized to serve as a unit, of the Selected Reserve to perform such missions the Secretary of Defense may determine necessary. The deployment of United States forces to conduct operational missions in and around former Yugoslavia necessitates this action.

A copy of the Executive order implementing this action is attached.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
December 8, 1995.

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Message to the Congress on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)**

*December 8, 1995*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

On May 30, 1992, in Executive Order No. 12808, the President declared a national emergency to deal with the threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States arising from actions and policies of the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro, acting under the name of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in their involvement in and support for groups at-

tempting to seize territory in Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by force and violence utilizing, in part, the forces of the so-called Yugoslav National Army (57 *FR* 23299, June 2, 1992). I expanded the national emergency in Executive Order No. 12934 of October 25, 1994, to address the actions and policies of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina that they control.

The present report is submitted pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1641(c) and 1703(c) and covers the period from May 30, 1995, to November 29, 1995. It discusses Administration actions and expenses directly related to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of a national emergency in Executive Order No. 12808 and Executive Order No. 12934 and to expanded sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) (the "FRY (S&M)") and the Bosnian Serbs contained in Executive Order No. 12810 of June 5, 1992 (57 *FR* 24347, June 9, 1992), Executive Order No. 12831 of January 15, 1993 (58 *FR* 5253, January 21, 1993), Executive Order No. 12846 of April 25, 1993 (58 *FR* 25771, April 27, 1993), and Executive Order No. 12934 of October 25, 1994 (59 *FR* 54117, October 27, 1994).

1. Executive Order No. 12808 blocked all property and interests in property of the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro, or held in the name of the former Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, then or thereafter located in the United States or within the possession or control of United States persons, including their overseas branches.

Subsequently, Executive Order No. 12810 expanded U.S. actions to implement in the United States the United Nations sanctions against the FRY (S&M) adopted in United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 757 of May 30, 1992. In addition to reaffirming the blocking of FRY (S&M) Government property, this order prohibited transactions with respect to the FRY (S&M) involving imports, exports, dealing in FRY (S&M)-origin property, air and sea transportation, contract performance, funds transfers, activity promoting importation or exportation or dealings in property, and official sports, scientific,

technical, or other cultural representation of, or sponsorship by, the FRY (S&M) in the United States.

Executive Order No. 12810 exempted from trade restrictions (1) transshipments through the FRY (S&M), and (2) activities related to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), the Conference on Yugoslavia, or the European Community Monitor Mission.

On January 15, 1993, President Bush issued Executive Order No. 12831 to implement new sanctions contained in UNSC Resolution 787 of November 16, 1992. The order revoked the exemption for transshipments through the FRY (S&M) contained in Executive Order No. 12810, prohibited transactions within the United States or by a United States person relating to FRY (S&M) vessels and vessels in which a majority or controlling interest is held by a person or entity in, or operating from, the FRY (S&M), and stated that all such vessels shall be considered as vessels of the FRY (S&M), regardless of the flag under which they sail.

On April 25, 1993, I issued Executive Order No. 12846 to implement in the United States the sanctions adopted in UNSC Resolution 820 of April 17, 1993. That resolution called on the Bosnian Serbs to accept the Vance-Owen peace plan for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and, if they failed to do so by April 26, 1993, called on member states to take additional measures to tighten the embargo against the FRY (S&M) and Serbian-controlled areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the United Nations Protected Areas in Croatia. Effective April 26, 1993, the order blocked all property and interests in property of commercial, industrial, or public utility undertakings or entities organized or located in the FRY (S&M), including property and interests in property of entities (wherever organized or located) owned or controlled by such undertakings or entities, that are or thereafter come within the possession or control of United States persons.

On October 25, 1994, in view of UNSC Resolution 942 of September 23, 1994, I issued Executive Order No. 12934 in order to take additional steps with respect to the crisis

in the former Yugoslavia (59 *FR* 54117, October 27, 1994). Executive Order No. 12934 expands the scope of the national emergency declared in Executive Order No. 12808 to address the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States posed by the actions and policies of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina that they control, including their refusal to accept the proposed territorial settlement of the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Executive order blocks all property and interests in property that are in the United States, that hereafter come within the United States, or that are or hereafter come within the possession or control of United States persons (including their overseas branches) of: (1) the Bosnian Serb military and paramilitary forces and the authorities in areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of those forces; (2) any entity, including any commercial, industrial, or public utility undertaking, organized or located in those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces; (3) any entity, wherever organized or located, which is owned or controlled directly or indirectly by any person in, or resident in, those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces; and (4) any person acting for or on behalf of any person within the scope of the above definitions.

The Executive order also prohibits the provision or exportation of services to those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces, or to any person for the purpose of any business carried on in those areas, either from the United States or by a United States person. The order also prohibits the entry of any U.S.-flagged vessel, other than a U.S. naval vessel, into the riverine ports of those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces. Finally, any transaction by any United States person that evades or avoids, or has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate any of the prohibitions

set forth in the order is prohibited. Executive order No. 12934 became effective at 11:59 p.m., e.d.t., on October 25, 1994.

2. The declaration of the national emergency on May 30, 1992, was made pursuant to the authority vested in the President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*), and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code. The emergency declaration was reported to the Congress on May 30, 1992, pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)) and the expansion of that national emergency under the same authorities was reported to the Congress on October 25, 1994. The additional sanctions set forth in related Executive orders were imposed pursuant to the authority vested in the President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the statutes cited above, section 1114 of the Federal Aviation Act (49 U.S.C. App. 1514), and section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act (22 U.S.C. 287c).

3. Effective June 30, 1995, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) Sanctions Regulations, 31 C.F.R. Part 585 (the "Regulations"), were amended to implement Executive Order No. 12934 (60 *FR* 34144, June 30, 1995). The name of the Regulations was changed to reflect the expansion of the national emergency to the Bosnian Serbs, and now reads "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia & Montenegro) and Bosnian Serb-Controlled Areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Sanctions Regulations." A copy of the amended Regulations is attached.

Treasury's blocking authority as applied to FRY (S&M) subsidiaries and vessels in the United States has been challenged in court. In *Milena Ship Management Company, Ltd. v. Newcomb*, 804 F. Supp. 846, 855, and 859 (E.D.L.A. 1992) *aff'd*, 995 F. 2d 620 (5th Cir. 1993), *cert. denied*, 114 S. Ct. 877 (1994), involving five ships owned or controlled by FRY (S&M) entities blocked in various U.S. ports, the blocking authority as applied to these vessels was upheld. In *IPT Company, Inc. v. United States Department*

of the Treasury, No. 92 CIV 5542 (S.D.N.Y. 1994), the district court also upheld the blocking authority as applied to the property of a Yugoslav subsidiary located in the United States, and the case was subsequently settled.

4. Over the past 6 months, the Departments of State and Treasury have worked closely with European Union (the "EU") member states and other U.N. member nations to coordinate implementation of the U.N. sanctions against the FRY (S&M). This has included continued deployment of Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) sanctions assistance missions (SAMs) to Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Hungary, Romania, and Ukraine to assist in monitoring land and Danube River traffic; support for the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) monitoring missions along the Serbia-Montenegro-Bosnia border; bilateral contacts between the United States and other countries for the purpose of tightening financial and trade restrictions on the FRY (S&M); and ongoing multilateral meetings by financial sanctions enforcement authorities from various countries to coordinate enforcement efforts and to exchange technical information.

5. In accordance with licensing policy and the Regulations, the Office of Foreign Assets Control (FAC) has exercised its authority to license certain specific transactions with respect to the FRY (S&M), which are consistent with U.S. foreign policy and the Security Council sanctions. During the reporting period, FAC has issued 90 specific licenses regarding transactions pertaining to the FRY (S&M) or assets it owns or controls, bringing the total specific licenses issued as of October 13, 1995, to 1,020. Specific licenses have been issued: (1) for payment to U.S. or third country secured creditors, under certain narrowly defined circumstances, for preembargo import and export transactions; (2) for legal representation or advice to the Government of the FRY (S&M) or FRY (S&M)-located or controlled entities; (3) for the liquidation or protection of tangible assets of subsidiaries of FRY (S&M)-located or controlled firms located in the United States; (4) for limited transactions related to FRY (S&M) diplomatic representation in Washington and New York; (5) for patent, trademark, and copy-

right protection in the FRY (S&M) not involving payment to the FRY (S&M) Government; (6) for certain communications, news media, and travel-related transactions; (7) for the payment of crews' wages, vessel maintenance, and emergency supplies for FRY (S&M)-controlled ships blocked in the United States; (8) for the removal from the FRY (S&M), or protection within the FRY (S&M), of certain property owned and controlled by U.S. entities; (9) to assist the United Nations in its relief operations and the activities of the UNPROFOR; and (10) for payment from funds outside the United States where a third country has licensed the transaction in accordance with U.N. sanctions. Pursuant to U.S. regulations implementing UNSC Resolutions, specific licenses have also been issued to authorize exportation of food, medicine, and supplies intended for humanitarian purposes in the FRY (S&M).

During the period, FAC addressed the status of the unallocated debt of the former Yugoslavia by authorizing nonblocked U.S. creditors under the New Financing Agreement for Yugoslavia (Blocked Debt) to exchange a portion of the Blocked Debt for new debt (bonds) issued by the Republic of Slovenia. The completion of this exchange will mark the transfer to Slovenia of sole liability for a portion of the face value of the \$4.2 billion unallocated debt of the FRY (S&M) for which Slovenia, prior to the authorized exchange, was jointly and severally liable. The exchange will relieve Slovenia of the joint and several liability for the remaining unallocated FRY (S&M) debt and pave the way for its entry into international capital markets.

During the past 6 months, FAC has continued to oversee the liquidation of tangible assets of the 15 U.S. subsidiaries of entities organized in the FRY (S&M). Subsequent to the issuance of Executive Order No. 12846, all operating licenses issued for these U.S.-located Serbian or Montenegrin subsidiaries or joint ventures were revoked, and the net proceeds of the liquidation of their assets placed in blocked accounts.

In order to reduce the drain on blocked assets caused by continuing to rent commercial space, FAC arranged to have the blocked

personalty, files, and records of the two Serbian banking institutions in New York moved to secure storage. The personalty is being liquidated, with the net proceeds placed in blocked accounts.

Following the sale of the M/V Kapetan Martinovic in January 1995, five Yugoslav-owned vessels remain blocked in the United States. Approval of the UNSC's Serbian Sanctions Committee was sought and obtained for the sale of the M/V Kapetan Martinovic (and the M/V Bor, which was sold in June 1994).

With the FAC-licensed sales of the M/V Kapetan Martinovic and the M/V Bor, those vessels were removed from the list of blocked FRY (S&M) entities and merchant vessels maintained by FAC. As of October 12, 1995, five additional vessels have been removed from the list of blocked FRY (S&M) entities and merchant vessels maintained by FAC as a result of sales conditions that effectively extinguished any FRY (S&M) interest: the M/V Blue Star, M/V Budva, M/V Bulk Star, M/V Hanuman, and M/V Sumadija. The new owners of several other formerly Yugoslav-owned vessels, which have been sold in other countries, have petitioned FAC to remove those vessels from the list.

During the past 6 months, U.S. financial institutions have continued to block funds transfers in which there is a possible interest of the Government of the FRY (S&M) or an entity or undertaking located in or controlled from the FRY (S&M), and to stop prohibited transfers to persons in the FRY (S&M). The value of transfers blocked has amounted to \$137.5 million since the issuance of Executive Order No. 12808, including some \$13.9 million during the past 6 months.

To ensure compliance with the terms of the licenses that have been issued under the program, stringent reporting requirements are imposed. More than 318 submissions have been reviewed by FAC since the last report, and more than 130 compliance cases are currently open.

6. Since the issuance of Executive Order No. 12810, FAC has worked closely with the U.S. Customs Service to ensure both that prohibited imports and exports (including those in which the Government of the FRY

(S&M) or Bosnian Serb authorities have an interest) are identified and interdicted, and that permitted imports and exports move to their intended destination without undue delay. Violations and suspected violations of the embargo are being investigated and appropriate enforcement actions are being taken. Numerous investigations carried over from the prior reporting period are continuing. Since the last report, FAC has collected 10 civil penalties totaling more than \$27,000. Of these, five were paid by U.S. financial institutions for violative funds transfers involving the Government of the FRY (S&M), persons in the FRY (S&M), or entities located or organized in or controlled from the FRY (S&M). One U.S. company and one air carrier have also paid penalties related to unlicensed payments to the Government of the FRY (S&M) or other violations of the Regulations. Two companies and one law firm have also remitted penalties for their failure to follow the conditions of FAC licenses.

7. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from May 30, 1995, through November 29, 1995, that are directly attributable to the declaration of a national emergency with respect to the FRY (S&M) and the Bosnian Serb forces and authorities are estimated at about \$3.5 million, most of which represent wage and salary costs for Federal personnel. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in FAC and its Chief Counsel's Office, and the U.S. Customs Service), the Department of State, the National Security Council, the U.S. Coast Guard, and the Department of Commerce.

8. The actions and policies of the Government of the FRY (S&M), in its involvement in and support for groups attempting to seize and hold territory in the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina by force and violence, and the actions and policies of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control, continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States. The United States remains committed to a multilateral resolution of the conflict through implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolutions.

I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to apply economic sanctions against the FRY (S&M) and the Bosnian Serb forces, civil authorities, and entities, as long as these measures are appropriate, and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
December 8, 1995.

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

### **The President's Radio Address**

*December 9, 1995*

Good morning. As you all know, we're engaged in a great debate over how best to balance the budget. We must balance the budget. Since I became President, we have cut the terrible deficit we inherited nearly in half. Now, we must finish the job.

But let's remember why we want a balanced budget: to strengthen our economy and lift the burden of debt from future generations. To do that, we have to balance the budget in the way that reflects our most fundamental values: increasing opportunity; asking all to assume responsibility; strengthening our families and the economy; recognizing the duty we owe to each other, to our parents, our children, and those who need and deserve our help.

This past week, I took two steps to advance these values. First, I vetoed the Republican budget plan that was sent to me by Congress. I did it because that budget violates our values and would have hurt our economy. I did it because in so doing I vetoed the most massive cuts in Medicare and Medicaid in history, a tax increase on working people, and deep, deep cuts in education and the environment. This effort to balance the budget through wrong-headed cuts and misplaced priorities is now over. Then, I sent to the Congress a plan to balance the budget in 7 years without devastating cuts in these areas. My 7-year balanced budget plan reflects our values and protects our investments in the future. It reflects a good-faith effort to find

common ground on the budget. At stake is far more than just numbers and abstract programs and proposals, and far more than the normal political debates in Washington. This debate is about people, the lives they lead, the hopes they have, the desires they have for a better life.

Nowhere is this choice clearer than in our different approaches to Medicaid. For three decades, the Medicaid program has meant that if your child was disabled in an accident or your husband got Alzheimer's or your parent needed nursing home care, you would get the help you need. The Republican budget would cut Medicaid by \$163 billion. It would repeal the guarantee of health care for poor children, people with disabilities, pregnant women, and older Americans. Now, this repeal was not an afterthought or an unintended consequence. The congressional Republican majority is actually insisting on it. What would this mean?

Well, in 2002 alone, the year the budget is supposed to be balanced, the Republican budget could deny quality health coverage to nearly 8 million people, deny meaningful health care to over a million people with disabilities, even to 150,000 veterans and to tens of thousands of people with AIDS, many of whom are able to keep working or who can get the help they need without their families being forced into poverty because of the assistance they get from Medicaid.

Today, a poor child who gets sick has access to a family doctor. Under this bill, nearly 4 million poor children could be denied quality medical care. If they got sick, they'd have to pray for charity care at a crowded hospital emergency room. Today, pregnant women know they can get prenatal care for their sake and the sake of their unborn children. But under the Republican plan, hundreds of thousands of pregnant women could be denied regular checkups and other basic services that could lead to an increase in infant mortality or children born with irreversible problems.

Today, elderly women who have devoted themselves to their families know they can count on medical care, even if they don't have much money. But under the Republican plan, as many as 330,000 older Americans could be denied nursing home care.



Today, middle class parents know that in the awful event their child is disabled in an accident and their savings are gone, they'll get help to keep the child at home. Under the Republican plan, hundreds of thousands of disabled children could lose help for home care.

Earlier this week, I had the pleasure of meeting the Striggles family from Forestville, Maryland. Franklin Striggles works hard as a security guard. He and his wife, Denise, have health insurance from his job. But it doesn't begin to pay the cost of caring for their son, Angelo, an energetic 7-year-old who has spina bifida, and who's now confined to a wheelchair. That's where Medicaid comes in. With Medicaid, this working family can keep a job, raise and educate their other children, and give little Angelo good care. To see Angelo and his family, it's clear how much love and learning he gets from living at home with his brother and sister. It pains me to think that if the Striggles family lost Medicaid coverage, Angelo could be torn from his family, even forced to be placed in a State institution.

If the Republican cuts in Medicaid take effect, the blunt reality is that as many as 4 million children will simply be denied needed medical care. They'll either be turned away from medical facilities, denied preventive care, or be turned out too soon. That is unacceptable in a country that cares about its children. And I will not permit it to happen.

Yes, the deficit is a burden on future generations but so is the neglect of our children. And we do not have to sacrifice our children to balance the budget. That's why I vetoed these cuts last week. Now, some Republicans continue to insist on unconscionable cuts in health care for our children as part of a balanced budget.

So I'll say once more: If necessary, I'll veto these deep cuts in health care for children again and again and again. I'll do it because they are not necessary to balance the budget. And they, too, will place an awful burden on future generations.

My 7-year balanced budget plan trims Medicaid and keeps costs down. It cuts Federal spending, lets States be more efficient, targets the money more wisely. But it doesn't

end the guarantee of health care for millions of Americans who depend upon it now.

We expect every family to pay its bills and to care for its children. Well, our country can do the same. We don't have to hurt our children to balance the budget.

It's time for men and women of both parties to put aside their narrow interests and extreme ideology and together pursue the national interest. I have reached out to bridge the differences between us so that our country can move forward. If we'll all just work together and keep our eye on the future, we can get this job done.

Thank you for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 5:57 p.m. on December 8 in the Oval Office at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on December 9.

### Interview With Quinn Buckner of CBS Sports in Fayetteville, Arkansas December 9, 1995

**Mr. Buckner.** I'm here with the First Fan. All right, now you're undefeated. Your team is now 33-24. If you had a chance to write out a play, what would you write for Nolan Richards?

**The President.** I just think they need a chance to get a better shot. Cincinnati is a great defensive team. Looking at these games they're winning and the teams they're beating at very low scores, and our guys are great athletes, but they're freshmen. They're junior college transfers. They're just learning to play together. They have great potential, but Cincinnati is a great defensive team. We've got to figure out a way to break their defense to get good shots, and then they'll win the game.

**Mr. Buckner.** Are you having much fun doing this? I mean, how often do you get to watch the Razorbacks?

**The President.** Wherever they're on television I try to watch them, and then if I'm working at night, I try to have somebody film it so I can watch it later. I try to get down here to see a couple of games a year, and then if they get in the NCAA, of course, I try to see them a time or two.

NOTE: The interview began at 1:10 p.m. at Bud Walton Arena.

**Remarks at a Dinner Honoring  
Senator David Pryor in Little Rock,  
Arkansas**

*December 9, 1995*

Thank you very much, Jimmie Lou. I will treasure this always. I wish you could have gotten me a ballot of a precinct that I carried. [Laughter] You know, I ran in Sebastian County a zillion times, and I started in 1974. It took me until 1990, where I finally carried it. [Laughter] But thanks to some of you in this room, it finally happened. I thank you very much. I thank you, Jimmie Lou Fisher, for being my dear friend and for introducing me in October of 1991 on the steps of the Old State Capitol. You seem to bring good luck to me and to everyone else whom you touch.

I thank Maurice Mitchell and Skip Rutherford and everyone else who had anything to do with this dinner tonight. Chairman Gibson; my dear friend Mack McLarty, who came out with me tonight and who has done a wonderful job on all of our behalfs in Washington; I'm so grateful to him for being there with me these last 3 years. To Congresswoman Blanche Lambert Lincoln; if there is a living soul in this country who can change a deer season, it's her. [Laughter] I've gotten to where when she starts coming at me, I just say yes before she ever says anything. It saves a lot of time and a lot of energy, always the same result. [Laughter]

Senator Bumpers, you do not have to get off the back door tomorrow. [Laughter] But however, after a few of those jokes tonight, I hope you won't mind if I ask you to board by the back door. [Laughter]

I want to say that I am profoundly grateful to Dale Bumpers for what he's done for our State and what he's done for our Nation and for the kind of voice that he's been in the United States Senate for all of these 18 years or 22 years or however long he's been there—since—it seemed like before I could vote—[laughter]—but never more than the last 2 years when he has found that soaring eloquence in the service of views that seemed

to be fading from fashion until the last few months. And it's because people like Dale Bumpers speak up in the lean times as well as the good ones that this country stays on the path to progress and keeps its common sense about it, and I'm very grateful to him, and all of you should be as well.

So, Governor Tucker, let me say I hope you pass your bond issue, and I hope you pass a constitution. He was too gracious to say it, but when he was reeling off all of the names of the Governors that tried to get a new constitution, he could have said, had he been less gracious, that we all failed. [Laughter] But that doesn't mean we don't need one. And I am especially grateful to you for taking on a lot of tough issues that are often thankless because you know that 10 or 20 or 30 years from now, if we do these things, people will look back and say, "Thank you very much. It might not have been popular at the time and it certainly wasn't easy at the time, but it was the right thing to do." And that's the kind of Governor you've been, and I am very grateful to you for it.

To Senator Pryor and Barbara and all of the Pryor family, let me say I am very honored to be here tonight. Hillary wishes she could be here. She called David; they had a long conversation this morning. Neither one of them would tell me everything they discussed. But she loves you very much, as you know, and wishes that she could be here with you. But our daughter is engaged in an activity tonight that required her presence in Washington, and I know you understand that. But she and I feel a special debt to you and a special bond.

Ladies and gentlemen, I've got to be honest with you: I'm kind of like Dale. This is a night I hoped would never come. I'm glad you showed up, and I thank you for your devotion to the Democratic Party and to Dale Bumpers and to Jim Guy Tucker and to our Congressman and our Congresswoman and especially to Senator Pryor. But I hoped that this night would never come.

You know how there are just things in life you assume would go on forever? I just assumed David Pryor's career in the Senate would go on forever. I thought long after I retired from the White House I would be back here with you, you know, wearing his

buttons and having his bumper sticker on my car. *[Laughter]* I figured I would be writing him someday, asking him to help me with my Social Security check. I just thought it would go on forever. *[Laughter]*

So today, my whole life has been parading before me. I flew into Fayetteville and went to the ballgame, and then I came down here, and I got to see the Ozarks, and I got to see the river valley that I love so well, and I got to relive my whole life with David Pryor. The first time I ever met David Pryor, I remember it just like it was yesterday, he was walking down the street in some small town in south Arkansas, asking people to vote for him for Congress. And I was not quite 20 years old. And I thought he was really something. It turned out I was right; he was really something.

I remember once when I was a senior in college, and he and Barbara were standing outside a restaurant in Washington, DC, one night, and I was just walking down the street and I ran into them. And he was a Congressman, and I was a college student. They invited me in to sit down and have a bite with them and just talk. And I couldn't believe it. There was nothing in it for them, and it was a night they could be alone and away from politics and away from the pressures of the job. It probably didn't mean much to him, but I've never forgotten it after all of these years.

I remember when he suffered the only defeat he ever endured in 1972, the incredible dignity and grace and generosity with which he bore it. It was a lesson that I had occasion to apply later on—*[laughter]*—more than once, I might add, but one I never forgot.

I remember when he ran for Governor in 1974, as Jimmie Lou said when I ran for Congress, what a tough time it was, how hard it was to keep people focused on the fundamental goodness of our way of doing public business and the need to keep pushing forward because we had such a terrible recession. I remember sitting in the back of the Governor's limousine in 1978, when I was attorney general and he was Governor, and he told me he was going to run for Senator, and he suggested I might run for Governor.

And he said—I never will forget this—he said, “You know, as young as you are, you might even make a career of it. You might survive 10 or 12 years.” *[Laughter]* Well, I wanted to be Governor, but I thought he had a screw loose. It turned out he was right about that. That race in 1978 gave him a chance to be a Senator, gave Jim Guy Tucker a chance to be a Governor and, I might add, a great Governor. It gave Ray Thornton a chance to be the president of both of our great, big universities and go on to—come back to Congress and help us all stand against the floodtide up there. It was an interesting year.

One of my great joys all during the decade of the 1980's was going to these events that David and Dale and I used to go to and tell all of our bad jokes over and over again, to see whether we could still get a laugh, knowing all of the time that we were able to do something here, to keep a certain spirit, a certain sense of togetherness, a certain sense of being willing to make a future that a lot of our fellow Americans were having a hard time holding on to—thanks in no small measure to David Pryor.

But the thing I remember most vividly tonight was in the cold, cold winter of 1991 and 1992 in New Hampshire, when our passion for a new future ran into the politics of personal destruction, and everybody said our campaign was over. David Pryor and Barbara Pryor were there day-in and day-out, walking in the snow, knocking on the doors, talking to people about what this country could be and what it ought to be and what kind of direction we ought to have in Washington. And as long as I live, I will never forget. They did not have to be there, but they were, and it made all the difference.

You know, our whole country's existence has basically had three great strands: our love of liberty, our belief in progress, and our struggle to find common ground amid all of our differences. I can think of no public official in my lifetime I have ever met from any place who better embodied all three of those things, and who always knew that unless we could find common ground through decency and standing up for the values that made this country great, it would in the end not be possible to preserve progress or even liberty.

In Washington today we are having the debate of the century about what kind of people we are and what kind of future we're going to have, what our obligations to each other are, and whether we really believe in opportunity for all and responsibility from all, whether we really believe we have an obligation to help families stay together and to take care of our parents when they're sick and our children when they're growing up, whether we really believe that we are, as our motto says, from many one.

David Pryor is the embodiment of what I want our country to keep at and to become and to do. Senator Bumpers quoted de Tocqueville. He said a long time ago that this is a great country. "America is great," he said, "because America is good. And if America ever ceases to be good, she will no longer be great." David Pryor has been a great public servant because he is fundamentally good.

William Wordsworth said the last best hope of a good man's life are the little, unremembered acts of kindness and love. David Pryor, over more than 30 years, every person in this room and every person in our State has been embraced by your kindness and love, and we thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:25 p.m. in Governor's Hall II in the Statehouse Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Jimmie Lou Fisher, Arkansas State treasurer; Maurice Mitchell, attorney in Little Rock; Skip Rutherford, former State Democratic chair; Bynum Gibson, State Democratic chair.

## Remarks to the Florida State Democratic Convention

*December 10, 1995*

**The President.** Thank you. Thank you for that warm and rousing welcome. I've enjoyed listening through my earphone here to what's going on down there. I see that Senator Dodd has almost lost his voice in the enthusiasm and so has your State party chair, Terry Brady. But I want to thank both of them for their leadership and for what they have done and for stirring everybody up and getting you excited over the election we're about to have and the stakes there.

I want to say hello to Attorney General Bob Butterworth. I'd also like to send kind greetings to all of my friends down there, especially to Governor Chiles, Lieutenant Governor MacKay, Senator Bob Graham.

I am very pleased to be able to speak with you today at this very important convention. As we move into the Presidential campaign season, you know, I can't help but recall that it was almost 4 years ago to the day that Florida and the Florida Democrats, at this meeting, put our campaign on the map, when you helped me to win a decisive straw poll victory on December 15th, 1991. I remember that day so well, for that victory convinced me that the American people were serious about wanting new leadership in Washington and a new direction for our country.

You know, I have many things I want to say, but the most important thing I can do is to say a simple thank you. Thank you for helping me and Al Gore to the White House, to give us a chance to advance the economy and to honor the values that are critical to moving our country forward into the 21st century.

So, even though we have to talk a lot today about the future, let me say one more time: Thank you for your faith in me and in Vice President Gore; thank you for your support for these past 3 years.

Today, my fellow Americans, I come to you with a simple and straightforward message. We live in a great country in a time of very great change. We are moving forward from the industrial age to an age of technology. We are moving away from the cold-war era into the era of the global village. We know that. I ran for President to change things in this country, to take advantage of this time of absolutely enormous, enormous possibility so that we could make the most of the lives of every American and give all Americans back their future. And so that we would make sure that our country would still be able to lead the world toward peace and freedom and prosperity. We have done that.

Our country is in better shape today than it was 3 years ago. Our economy is stronger, we are coming back to our basic values, and we are leading the world toward peace. But to continue to be true to those values, we

have to have a clear vision of the future, and we have to stick with it. You know that.

When I ran for President in 1992, I was committed to restoring the American dream for all our people and to make absolutely sure that America would go into the next century still the most powerful country in the world, the greatest force for peace and freedom and prosperity the world had ever known. I said we would do it by having an economic policy that produced jobs and growth, that expanded the middle class and shrinks the under class by giving us a modern Government that is smaller and less bureaucratic and more entrepreneurial, and most important of all, by being true to old-fashioned American values at a new time: responsibility from all and opportunity for all; the value of work; the understanding that we have to help families stay strong and stick together; and a sense of community that we're all stronger when we work together and we're all in this fight to the future together; also, the strong sense that we do have obligations to our parents, to our children, to one another, and to those who, through no fault of their own, need some help to make the most of their own lives. Let me say again: This country is in better shape than it was 3 years ago. We still have challenges, and we have to keep going in the right direction. But America is on the move.

We've reduced the deficit in 3 consecutive years of this administration. It's now been cut in half. Over 7 years, that works out to about \$15,000 of reduced Federal debt for every family of four in Florida. In the past 3 years, we've also seen more than 7½ million new jobs created, more than 590,000 of them right there in Florida. We've got a record number of new businesses, 2½ million more homeowners. Home-building in the State of Florida has increased 6 percent a year after dropping 4 percent a year during the previous 12 years.

And America is safer and stronger today than we were 3 years ago. For the very first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, there is not a single Russian missile pointed at an American child. And American leadership is opening the door to peace and reconciliation all over the world, from Northern Ireland to the Middle East to Haiti and to Bosnia.

The United States is leading the world toward a more peaceful future. We've got a chance to end the misery in Bosnia for good. It was our diplomacy, backed by NATO's resolve, that brought the leaders of the Balkans to the peace table in Dayton, OH. And now they have made a commitment to peace. Our responsibility truly begins now. If we walk away from their request to us to help them preserve their peace, our allies will do the same, and the peace will fail. The slaughter will begin again, and that conflict could spread like poison throughout the region, drawing us in, in much greater risk to our own soldiers.

NATO, the alliance of democracies that has preserved our security for half a century by working with our strong European allies, would be shaken to its core if we walked away from their request to help preserve the peace in Bosnia. And American leadership, not only in Europe but all around this world, will pay a terrible, terrible price. For all of those reasons, we must help to preserve the peace.

This Bosnian peace mission is clearly defined. It has realistic goals to be reached in a definite period of time. Our force will be strong, and they will have strong rules of engagement so that they can protect themselves and pursue the mission. I am convinced that the risks to our troops have been minimized to the maximum extent possible. After all, we're not going to fight a war but to wage a peace. We do it for the people of Bosnia, for the stability of Europe, for American leadership, and for the values we hold dear. We also have a special interest in promoting peace and democracy in two nations just off your shore, in Haiti and in Cuba.

Just over one year ago, our diplomacy, backed by military muscle, forced a brutal military regime in Haiti to surrender its power. We gave democracy there another chance. You know better than people in any other State that this has been good for America and good for Haiti. The tide of refugees from Haiti, which stood at about 16,000 in the months prior to the intervention, has been dramatically reduced. The people of Haiti, with help from the international community, are slowly building a democracy and a working economy. And President Aristide,

as he said he would, has been a force for reconciliation.

Now all of this takes time, and there may be setbacks along the way. But just a week from now, Haiti will hold Presidential elections which will freely transfer power from one democratically elected President to another for the very first time in the nation's history. This is an extraordinary achievement. America, and particularly Floridians, where so many Haitians live, should be proud that we helped to restore democracy to Haiti.

Cuba, of course, is still a different story. It's now the only country in our hemisphere which continues to resist the powerful trend toward democracy. Our administration is working to encourage its peaceful transition to a free and open society. We will continue to do everything we can to promote peaceful change, protect human rights, and move Cuba into the camp of democracy.

With all of the progress we've made, both here at home and abroad, the thing that I am most proud of, I think, is the tangible evidence that our country is coming back together around our core values. Because we not only have economic progress, we not only have the lowest rates of unemployment and inflation in 27 years, but in almost every State in America and almost every major community, the crime rate is down, the murder rate is down, the food stamp rolls are down, the welfare rolls are down. For 2 years, the teen pregnancy rate has dropped, and the poverty rate is down.

We are coming back together, and we're moving forward together. And as you know, I believe we can only move forward if we do it together. We're moving in the right direction, but now we have to make some decisions that will keep us on that track. That really is what this big budget debate in Washington is all about. It isn't just about dollars and cents, it goes to the heart of who we are as a people, what we believe, what we stand for, what kind of America we want our children and grandchildren to inherit in the 21st century.

Last Wednesday, using the pen that was used to sign Medicare and Medicaid into law in 1965, I vetoed the Republican budget. I did it to preserve our commitment to our parents, to protect opportunity for our chil-

dren, to defend our public health and environment, and to stop a tax increase that undercuts the value of work for the hardest pressed working families and their children in this country. The very next day, I gave Congress a budget that does balance in 7 years without their devastating cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, in education and the environment, and one that does not raise taxes on working families.

Let me tell you again why I vetoed their budget. Americans have always believed we owe a duty to our parents. The Republican budget that I vetoed would turn Medicare into a second-class system. The Medicare system that has served older Americans so well for 30 years would be over, and I'm not going to let that happen.

My 7-year balanced budget secures the Medicare Trust Fund into the future without imposing new costs on hard-pressed seniors. And it preserves Medicaid's guarantee of quality health care for poor children, pregnant women, disabled Americans, and older Americans.

There are many differences between the Republican budget that I vetoed and the one I presented last week. But perhaps the starkest one of all is the different treatment of Medicaid. As I told Governor Chiles in a White House meeting with Governors on Friday, the Republican budget would be a disaster for States like Florida that depend on Medicaid. Medicaid is a guarantee not only to seniors who might need nursing home care, it's also a guarantee to their families against having their financial security threatened if an older parent falls seriously ill. This Republican plan would change all that. Families tomorrow could find themselves forced to pay large sums for quality nursing home care that Medicaid guarantees today. It would force those working families to choose between quality nursing home care for their parents and quality education and health care for their own children. We shouldn't force our working families to have to make that type of choice.

Now, I want to work with the Republican Congress. I want to work to get a balanced budget. But I will not—I will not permit the repeal of guaranteed medical coverage for senior citizens, for disabled people, for poor

children, for pregnant women, for people with AIDS. That would violate our values. It would undermine our families and, therefore, even weaken our economy. And what's more, it's not necessary. So if they continue to make this a part of their budget, I'll veto it again and again and again.

My fellow Democrats, we're going to win this battle; we have to. Nothing less than the heart and soul of our Nation are at stake. That's why I'm asking for your continued support now more than ever. All of us who share the same values, whether we're Democrats, Republicans, or independents, all of us who share the same vision for our country and our future, we have got to stand together now for the American people. We need to stand together on behalf of the elderly, the disabled, the pregnant women, and poor children to protect Medicare and Medicaid. We need to stand together on behalf of the millions and millions of young people in this country who would be denied the chance for a better education if the Republicans are successful in slashing Head Start, slashing the college loan options, slashing the college scholarships.

We need to stand together to reward hard-working families by providing the child care mothers need to move from welfare to work and by refusing to raise taxes on 8 million working families. We have to build on the successes of the last 3 years. But we must not turn back the clock.

Some Republicans in Congress have made clear their strategy of trying to force through harmful health care, education, and environmental cuts, that would be very damaging to Florida, by threatening to shut our Government down once again. They did it a month ago, but the threat failed.

Now, as the holidays approach, I sincerely hope that there will be a spirit in the Congress that will make it possible for us to bring good faith to our negotiations. We are now engaged in negotiations on how best to balance the budget consistent with our values. And I proposed the 7-year balanced budget, and even proposed a specific compromise so that we could finish our work on this year's budget and keep the Government open.

We have serious differences on Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment,

on tax fairness and also on research and technology that I know are critical to our future. But we ought to be able to agree on this: Nobody, nobody, should threaten to shut the Government down right before Christmas.

Let me close by reminding all of you how far we've come and what I hope you will do in the year ahead. Remind your fellow citizens in Florida that America is in better shape than we were 3 years ago and Florida is in better shape than it was 3 years ago. We do have a 27-year low in the combined rates of unemployment and inflation. We do have progress in crime and welfare reform, in reducing many of the social problems that still continue to plague us. We do have progress in making the world a more peaceful place.

And Florida has received the attention it deserved from our administration. The Southern Command is moving to Florida. The Summit of the Americas was held in Florida. The defense budgets of the country have been kept strong in the way it has preserved the military presence in Florida that will help us to be secure in the future. Our trade policies, our technology policies have helped Florida.

But if you look to the future and you think of America and what you want it to be like 10, 20, 30 years from now, you know we still have a long way to go. The answer is to redouble our efforts in the direction we are heading, not to derail this train of America's progress. We have to have a vision, and we have to have policies that prepare our children for the vast challenges and opportunities of the 21st century; vision and policy that promote life-long learning so our workers can meet the demands of change; vision and a policy that empowers communities to solve their own problems, that ensures the safety of our citizens on our streets, in our schools, and in our homes, that helped us to come together as a country and as one big American community. That's the vision we all share for America.

America is now in the best position to lead the world into the 21st century as well. And you know, with our common security threats, of the proliferation of dangerous nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, with the problems we have with terrorism and drug-

trafficking and organized crime, you know we have to put our values into action around the world and come together in that same spirit.

I want you to promise yourself that when you walk out of this room today and for the next year, you are going to walk up to your fellow Americans in every possible venue, and talk about these fundamental values, these fundamental issues, this shared vision that you and I have for our future and for our children. If we will do that, if we will bring the same enthusiasm I heard from you today into our daily lives, into our daily contacts with the kind of people who never have the opportunity to be in a convention hall, we will prevail. But far, far more important, America will have the future that our children deserve.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

**Audience members.** Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

*[At this point, the moderator thanked the President and introduced the first questioner, who asked how proposed budget cuts will affect Medicare and Medicaid.]*

**The President.** Well, first of all, I thank you for the way you ask the question, because I do think a lot of Americans think that it's just bickering and may be just another political fight. But that isn't right.

There is an argument in Washington over the fundamental responsibility of our National Government in the area of health care and whether we do have an obligation to preserve Medicare as it has worked for our seniors for the last 30 years and to preserve, through the Medicaid program, a guarantee of health care for the elderly, for the disabled, for poor children and pregnant women.

Now, let's talk about the facts on Medicare. On Medicare, we do have to find a way to strengthen the Medicare Trust Fund. I've been saying that for sometime now. But the Republican cuts in Medicare are more than twice as great as are necessary to secure the Medicare Trust Fund well into the next century.

What they're doing is a number of things. Let me try to be as specific as I can so you'll understand. They say they want to encourage more seniors to take their Medicare benefits

in managed care plans. I'm all for giving people the incentive to do that. But I am against forcing people into managed care plans.

If you look at their budget, what they do is, they charge elderly people much more, not just in premiums but in copays and deductibles, to stay in Medicare. And they fund the traditional Medicare program at such a lower level that they're going to wind up trying to force seniors to pay more for less medical care in managed care plans. And the way the plan is now drafted, it is actually toughest on the oldest, the poorest, and the sickest seniors in the country. It is unconscionable, and it is wrong.

If you look at the Medicaid program, what they do is to cut the Medicaid program so much and to put the States under so much pressure, especially a State like Florida, that we think it is clear that millions of people will lose Medicaid coverage, hundreds of thousands of seniors who now get Medicaid help to stay in nursing homes would be denied it, millions of poor children will lose their coverage, and we will have, in a State like Florida especially, where you have a lot of poor children needing Medicaid coverage and a lot of seniors who are entitled to it, an unbearable burden placed on the States and a lot of human suffering. And it is unnecessary to balance the budget.

So I guess the facts in short are, number one, we need to save the Medicaid Trust Fund, but they're doing too much and it's going to hurt too much and it's going to really turn Medicaid as we know it into a second-class system. Number two, the Medicaid program would be devastated. And number three, and this is the most important thing of all, it is not necessary to do this to balance the budget.

I just want to remind the Democrats there that we cut the deficit in half in 3 years with only Democratic votes. We didn't get a single, solitary Republican vote in the Congress to do it. When we passed our program in 1993, they said it wouldn't reduce the deficit; they said it would bring on a recession. And they were wrong. They were wrong. The Republicans say they're against big Government. I want to remind you of something else. Since I've been in office, we're reduced the size of the Federal Government by



200,000. It's now the smallest it's been since John Kennedy was President, and as a percentage of our civilian work force, it's the smallest it's been since 1933. The Democrats did that. We did it by treating our Federal employees humanely, giving them good retirement and severance packages. We did it by increasing the productivity of the fine Federal employees that are left. We reduced the burden of big Government. We're eliminating 16,000 pages of Federal regulation. Those were Democratic reforms.

This is not about the problems of big Government. They want to strip the National Government of its ability to protect and advance the interests of the elderly and the children and the disabled people of this country. That is what is going on here.

*[The next questioner asked the President what he had done to give children a better education and brighter future.]*

**The President.** To answer your question in the way you posed it, the most important thing we have done is to give this country a comprehensive education policy focused not only on greater educational opportunities but on higher standards and higher quality education. And I'd like to give you some specific examples.

We have increased the number of our young people in Head Start programs by tens of thousands. For the public schools, we have written into law the national education goals and said to every State we will give you extra help if you will commit to try to reach these goals and if you will commit to a system which holds you accountable so that we can see whether you're making progress toward reaching these goals. We will give you extra help, and we will give special help to districts that are poor or that have a lot of poor children, but we all have to have the same high standards and we all have to be willing to be held accountable.

For young people who aren't going to college, we have launched a national school-to-work program to help every State give young people good training so they can get good jobs even if they don't have 4-year college degrees. Then, for young people who are going to college, we've launched a new direct student loan program that has lower cost col-

lege loans available to more kids with better terms of repayment.

One of the most successful things we've done—I've talked about it a lot in Florida—we have dramatically increased the number of student loans and the possibility of earning money through college through our national service program, AmeriCorps. Every single one of those things is at risk in the Republican budget, and I am fighting for every single one of them.

But we have a comprehensive education strategy based on national standards and grassroots reforms and more opportunity. That is what I think we ought to be pushing for. No company in the world and no country in the world would go into the 21st century by cutting its investment in education and technology and research. But this budget cuts our investment in education, technology, and research. It is a prescription for bad economics. That's the other thing I want to say to people: This Republican budget is not just bad in human terms, it's going to be bad for the economy. It will undermine the economic strategy that we have pursued that has given us the world's strongest economy again, and I want you to stick with us on the education issue.

NOTE: The President spoke by satellite at 10:17 a.m. from the Dempsey Thomas Film Studio in Little Rock, AR, to the convention meeting in Miami Beach, FL. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Lawton Chiles and Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay of Florida, and President Jean-Bertrand Aristide of Haiti.

### **Statement on the Nomination of Kweisi Mfume as Chairman of the NAACP**

*December 10, 1995*

I was delighted to hear about the nomination of Representative Kweisi Mfume to the leadership of the NAACP. In his distinguished career as the Representative of Baltimore's 7th District, Congressman Mfume has been an outspoken advocate for working Americans, an articulate voice on race relations and a tireless fighter against crime. His was a voice in the Congress that sought not to be divisive but to find common ground

on a wide spectrum of issues. I am disappointed that I will lose his support in the Congress, but I know that he will continue to provide me with wise counsel in his new role. He is a superb choice to lead the NAACP at this juncture, which for so many years has been an extraordinary champion of civil rights. I wish him all the best.

### **Remarks at "Christmas in Washington"**

*December 10, 1995*

Thank you. Thank you, Kelsey. I'd like to thank all the cast of "Frazier," Peri and Jane and John and David, for the wonderful job they did tonight; Gloria Estefan, Clint Black, Al Green, Dawn Upshaw, the Naval Academy Glee Club; makes you proud to be Commander in Chief—[laughter]—the U.S. Army Band's Herald Trumpets, also do; the magnificent Eastern High School Chorus, and of course, Ian Frazier and the "Christmas in Washington" Orchestra, for the magnificent music all of you have given us. Let's give them a great hand. [Applause]

Every year, Hillary and Chelsea and I really look forward to this wonderful "Christmas in Washington" evening. Besides getting us into the holiday spirit, it also gives us the opportunity to recognize one of our country's preeminent health care facilities, the Children's National Medical Center right here in Washington. As always, Christmas is a time for us to reflect on our good fortune in the past year. This Christmas, I have much to be grateful for. But among the things I am most grateful for is the way the people all around the world still look at our beloved land.

Recently, I returned from Europe where this was brought home to me ever more than before. People see America as a nation graced by God with peace and prosperity, a land of fundamental fairness and great freedom. And even though it sometimes imposes extra burdens on us, it is wonderful to know that people the world over trust us to work with them to achieve and share the blessings of peace.

So at Christmas, as we celebrate the birth of a homeless child whose only shelter was

the straw of a manger, but who grew up to become the Prince of Peace, let us remember that He said, "Blessed are the peacemakers." And let us ask the blessings of peace this Christmas for everyone, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, to Bosnia, and not only for the children there but, of course, for our troops as well. And let us also as Americans resolve, each of us, to do what we can to be peacemakers, not only to bring peace and reconciliation around the world but also to the most difficult neighborhoods of our own Nation, to every child who deserves to be free from violence and full of hope. That is our prayer for this Christmas.

Hillary and Chelsea and I offer this wish of our season to all of you and to all Americans everywhere. Peace on Earth, goodwill toward men. Merry Christmas, and God bless you all.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's remarks were recorded at 6:20 p.m. at the National Building Museum for broadcast at 10 p.m. on December 13. In his remarks, he referred to Kelsey Grammer, David Hyde Pierce, Peri Gilpin, Jane Leeves, and John Mahoney, cast members of the TV show "Frazier;" and entertainers Gloria Estefan, Clint Black, Al Green, Dawn Upshaw, and Ian Frazier.

### **Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel**

*December 11, 1995*

**The President.** Good morning everyone. It's a pleasure and an honor to have the Prime Minister here. We're about to start our talks. And as you know, after we have those talks, we will have a press conference, and we'll be available for your questions. But I'm very much looking forward to continuing our work on the peace process and continuing our strong partnership.

**Q.** Will you, Mr. President, become actively involved in an Israeli-Syrian track?

**The President.** Well, we're going to—let us have our talk, and I'll be glad to answer the questions after we finish our visit.

Thank you.

[At this point, one group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.]

**The President.** Good morning everyone. I want to welcome the Prime Minister here. It's pleasure to have him here and a privilege to continue our partnership, our search for peace. I'm looking forward to our visit. And of course, after the visit we'll have a press conference and the opportunity to answer your questions.

**Prime Minister Peres.** May I say the President has changed our hearts and changed our language. He changed our hearts by a very moving appearance at the funeral of the late Yitzhak Rabin. And he changed our language by adding two words that were never in our vocabulary: *Shalom, chaver*. It became a household expression.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:46 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### **The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Peres** *December 11, 1995*

**The President.** Please be seated.

Good afternoon. It's a pleasure to welcome Prime Minister Peres back to the White House. For as long as there has been a prospect of peace in the Middle East, Shimon Peres has stood at the forefront, striving to bring a new day of security and harmony to the people of Israel and to all the people of the region.

From his early years as one of the architects of Israel's defense, he has devoted himself to ensuring the security of his Nation. And from his first term as Prime Minister in the mid-1980's, through the negotiations that led to the signing here of the Declaration of Principles with the Palestinians, to the peace of the Araba with Jordan, to the interim accord ceremony just 2½ months ago, Shimon Peres has been a visionary for peace. He has seen the way. He has been a leader on the path to peace. And time and again he has been proven right.

One of the very last things Yitzhak Rabin said was that Shimon Peres was his full partner in forging peace. With those words and the memory of my friend in mind, let me renew now the pledge I first made to Prime

Minister Rabin at the beginning of my Presidency.

Mr. Prime Minister, as Israel continues to take risks for a lasting and comprehensive peace, the United States will stand with you to minimize those risks and to ensure your success. And I pledge to you personally, Shimon, that I will be your partner in peace.

Until an assassin's bullet cut short his life, Prime Minister Rabin rose time and again to the challenges of peace. The United States knows that, just as he has in the past, Prime Minister Peres will do so as well. It is a measure of how much has changed in the Middle East that on his journey here the Prime Minister met with King Hussein, President Mubarak, and Chairman Arafat, and that on his trip home he will visit with King Hussein of Morocco.

I have been especially encouraged to hear the Prime Minister talk about the progress in redeploying Israeli forces. He reviewed for me his meeting with Chairman Arafat, who reaffirmed his commitment to building upon and implementing the Declaration of Principles and the interim agreement.

The key to a lasting settlement in the Middle East is achieving peace between Israel and Syria, and Israel and Lebanon. Today, Prime Minister Peres and I agreed to redouble our efforts to achieve these goals. We agree that to close the circle of peace it will take more intensive and more practical negotiations. Each side will need to make a greater effort to take account of the others concerns. The United States stands ready to help to bring the parties together and to work with them in the negotiations. Peace is our mission. And the Prime Minister and I are determined that nothing—nothing—will deter us from this task in the weeks and the months ahead.

Today, I have also spoken with President Asad of Syria about our talks here in Washington. President Asad told me he was committed to do his best to move the peace process forward and to reach an early agreement between Syria and Israel. He also agree to my proposal that Secretary Christopher travel to the region next week to consult with him on the next steps we will take together.

We, of course, recognize that the differences will not disappear immediately.

Great hurdles must be overcome. But an Israel-Syria settlement is worth our every effort. It would end the Arab-Israeli conflict. It would establish a comprehensive peace. It could transform the face of the entire Middle East and the lives of all its inhabitants.

That was Yitzhak Rabin's dream. Here at the White House, that soldier of peace said, "enough of blood and tears." The United States is heartened that Shimon Peres will carry on. And together, we will work to fulfill Yitzhak Rabin's legacy.

Mr. Prime Minister, as you go forward, the United States will go with you and proudly.

**Prime Minister Peres.** Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Secretary of State, ladies and gentlemen. Let me say from my heart that we are so moved by the American participation in our great sadness when Prime Minister Rabin was assassinated. Mr. President, you have led a most unusual delegation that moved our heart. The President himself, two former Presidents, the Secretary of State, two former Secretaries, the leaders of the Senate, of the House of Representatives, and important—of journalists, of leaders. There was greatness in the sadness as Prime Minister Rabin was assassinated because he was right, not because he was wrong.

And may I say, ladies and gentlemen, that President Clinton did something most unusual. He has added an expression to the Israeli dictionary: *Shalom, chaver*. It is a very unusual combination. And for ones who don't understand Hebrew, let me say, the Russians are saying, "a comrade," which I don't know exactly what it is; the Americans are saying "a friend," which I understand what it is; but the Israelis are saying "*chaver*," which means togetherness. And since the President has used this word, we feel more together. We feel that we have an enriched dictionary among ourselves and between the United States of America and us. Believe me, I speak on behalf of all the Israelis for this enrichment of expression and feelings.

Thank you very much.

**Q.** Mr. President—

**Prime Minister Peres:** No, I—[laughter]. Don't discriminate the Israeli part. [Laughter]

So I should really start by saying, *Shalom, chaver*. These, your farewell words to Prime

Minister Rabin echoed throughout our land. The people of Israel will never forget your moving demonstration of solidarity in a moment of grief, of shock, of disbelief and determination. For us, you're a leader; you're a friend.

I stand beside you, Mr. President, in the footsteps of my partner, a great captain of peace, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Together with you—and I know how much he trusted you—we scaled the trail from the depths of hostility to the highlands of promising peace. Indeed, together, we shall stay the course and, with firm resolve, reach a destiny of lasting and a secure peace. A peace for the whole of the Middle East—Arabs and Jews, Jews and Arabs—this was Yitzhak Rabin's quest. It is my commitment.

Your leadership and devotion to the cause of peace are manifestly clear to Israel and to its neighbors as well. This is a constant direction, not a point of passing. May I say that as Bosnia reeled in agony, you offered a compass and a lamp to a confused situation, ending blood, offering hope, like in the Middle East. It is time to put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict. With you, Mr. President, in the forefront, by our side, it may become possible, as it did in the past, bringing thereby peace, security, and prosperity to all people. Prophecy may meet reality again and again.

Since your Presidency and through our partnership, the Middle East has already undergone an unbelievable change. Here at the White House on September 13, 1993, we came to grips with the heart of the problem. The Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles created a roadmap by means of which the Palestinians, alongside Israel, are becoming masters of their destinies. Palestinian elections are a new promise that reflects the interaction between peace and democracy. Nothing is a better guarantee for peace than democracy.

Israel and Jordan are displaying its fruits day-in and day-out. A barren, rift valley is pregnant with new prospects. Peace with Egypt remains a cornerstone of the peace process for, by it, regional war is no longer the justification of policies that leaves lands deserted rather than flourishing.

Today we seek an opening of a new, maybe a final, chapter: the end of war in the Middle

East in its totality. Peace between Syria, and between Lebanon and Israel will leave no reason whatsoever for the continuation of belligerency. Syria, together with us, stands in a unique position to contribute to a peaceful Middle East. The conflict between us has been bitter, complicated. The land that gave birth to prophecy can now give birth to yet a new vision.

President Asad and myself can, with the assistance of your leadership, Mr. President, and the assistance of your administration and Congress, build a new equation of genuine peace and security to end terror, to begin a market economy. I speak of boundaries of permanent peace. I speak of lands of new and great opportunity. Peace between us must indeed put an end to the conflict that has mired our region for so long. The President, the Secretary of State, and their peace team will continue to create with us the architecture for peace in the region. We welcome you.

Today I discussed the possible new opportunity with President Clinton. I find a warmth and an openness in our discussion, and I am very grateful. Mr. President, we are proud to be partners with you in working to make this prospect become a reality. It is my hope that President Asad will join us soon on this historic journey.

To my fellow Israelis, I can say we have in you, Mr. President, a true friend and a true partner. There is no time now for political vacation. We don't intend to rest. We intend to continue the momentum, full-speed ahead, in the name of all Israelis. And I think all Israelis, they'll tell you, Mr. President, *toda, chaver*, thank you, *chaver*.

#### **Israel-U.S. Space-Based Experiments**

**The President.** Thank you.

Let me make one brief comment, and then I will take questions, as will the Prime Minister.

As part of our effort to support Israel's advances in science and technology, I have today agreed with Prime Minister Peres to proceed with space-based experiments in sustainable water use and environmental protection. These experiments will take place in unmanned space vehicles, in the shuttle program and in the international space station.

And as a part of this effort, we will also train Israeli astronauts to participate in these programs. We look forward to working out the arrangements for this cooperation, and we are absolutely certain that it will benefit Israel's high-tech development as well as our own.

#### **Middle East Peace Process**

**Q.** Mr. President, countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Jordan are critical to the Middle East peace process. Yet none of these are true democracies, and all of them are now showing serious signs of internal dissent, even violent dissent. At what point does the firm U.S. backing of such non-democratic governments become counterproductive?

**The President.** Well, first of all, those countries have to work out their internal affairs for themselves. But as long as they are responsible actors on the international stage and as long as they are contributing to the peace process in the Middle East, we will consider them our partners for peace in the Middle East. That's the first and most important thing: How do they conduct themselves, and are they supportive of the peace process?

**Q.** Mr. President, you have just managed to successfully bring three sides together in Dayton, Ohio. Is it the time to use Camp David—model in the Middle East and bring President Asad and Prime Minister Peres together to this country? And if not, did you hear any new ideas from Prime Minister Shimon Peres? Thank you.

**The President.** Well, yes, Prime Minister Peres had some very good ideas which we shared together and which I think will form the basis of further action. At some point, I think the leaders of countries that are interested in peace have to meet—leaders have to meet and work together and work their problems out. But I think that will come in time.

Keep in mind, we worked quite a long time on peace in the Middle East—I mean, in Bosnia—before the parties came together at Dayton. So that will come, I think.

#### **Balkan Peace Process**

**Q.** Mr. President, on the Bosnia issue, since the accord, Bosnian Croats have reportedly burned a village, two French pilots are

still captive, a number of cease-fire violations have occurred. It remains so unstable there. Why should the American people have any confidence that our troops will be safe there?

**The President.** First of all, I don't think it remains so unstable there. I think, basically, you—in some ways you made the case. It has not been a perfect observation of the agreement, but basically the agreement they made has been observed. There has not been a resumption of hostilities.

There are some rough edges there, which is why NATO and others who are cooperating with us were asked to come in and help to separate the forces—supervise the separation of the forces—the transfer of land, the redeployment of forces out of land which they no longer are responsible for, and then to maintain a secure environment while the agreement is implemented.

And I see no reason to believe, based on the evidence so far, that all the parties who signed the agreement are not fully committed to implementing it. In fact, over the weekend we received some more encouraging comments from some of the Serb leaders about being committed to the end of the war and the implementation of the agreement.

**Q.** Mr. Prime Minister, do you feel—

**Prime Minister Peres.** You know, gentleman, Bosnia is Muslim, and Israel is Jewish. Yet, this is not the right distinction when it comes to politics in my eyes. The distinction is between aggressors and defenders. And I salute the United States of America to try to put an end to aggression and really help the people that were attacked to survive and not to suffer any longer.

Thank you.

### **Middle East Peace Process**

**Q.** Mr. President, do you feel now that the chances for peace between Israel and Syria are better than they were one month or two months ago?

**The President.** Yes.

**Q.** And is this the impression that you informed today to Mr. Peres?

**The President.** That is the impression I have today, yes.

**Q.** Mr. Prime Minister, did you review to President Clinton your readiness to withdraw

from Golan Heights as part of the peace agreement with Syria?

**Prime Minister Peres.** You cannot pin on a single issue. We are talking about the Syrian-Israeli peace process in its totality, and I have revealed the totality.

**Q.** Yes, but as one of the—

**Prime Minister Peres.** I understand what you—the answer you are seeking, and that's the answer I am having. [Laughter]

**Q.** Mr. President, do you know the price that Israel is ready to pay for peace with Syria? Are you going to transfer this information to President Asad? And are you maybe considering a visit in the Middle East, in Damascus and Jerusalem?

**The President.** Well, first of all, the Secretary of State will communicate to President Asad the essential elements of my meeting with the Prime Minister, as agreed upon between the Prime Minister and myself.

But I would just reiterate something that he said. I think the most important thing is not what any particular issue is, but I think that the atmosphere is better than it was before—as the previous questioner asked—and very frankly, as sad as it is to say, I think the Syrian leader and the Syrian people now see the exceptional price that former Prime Minister Rabin and Prime Minister Peres have been willing to pay in their search for peace.

I think that is the fundamental new reality here. I don't think any of the details matter nearly as much as that fundamental new reality, because, in the end, in any peace agreement, the parties have to have two things. One is, a certain level of trust that the people actually, on either side, intend to go forward with the agreements they have made because it's in their interest and because they can be believed. And the second is a certain system of observing the implementation of that trust. That's more important than all the details. So that is, I think, the central new reality.

### **Balkan Peace Process**

**Q.** Mr. President, you've talked about Bosnia a little bit. You still have not gotten the congressional approval you expect. You are about to head off to Paris to sign a commitment. Are you going to send U.S. troops if you don't get that approval from Congress

in regards to the timetable you want for sending the troops over there?

**The President.** First of all, I believe that we will secure that approval. I believe that Congress will support the troops. I had a good talk yesterday with Senator Dole and with Speaker Gingrich, and I know that we have these congressional delegations that have been to Bosnia that are coming back; I think two more are coming back. And I believe when it is all debated and all said and done in the next few days that the Congress will find a way to express their support for our troops. That's what I believe will happen.

**Q.** Will you send them anyway, sir?

#### **Middle East Peace Process**

**Q.** Mr. President, if you could tell us, do you see in the context of a peace agreement with Syria the need for a formal defense alliance with Israel, an upgrading of security—of the secure relationship. To follow up on that, also, if something would go wrong on Bosnia, do you see how that could affect this whole idea of U.S. troops on the Golan Heights? Thank you very much.

**The President.** Well, first let me say that the United States has not been asked in any negotiations by either party to put troops on the Golan as of this time. We have not been asked.

Secondly, if one thing should be clear to the entire world in the history of the last several years, it is that the security of Israel is terribly important to the United States. We have made an explicit policy commitment which has been carried through under Presidents of both parties to maintain the qualitative and technological edge that Israel needs to guarantee its security in an atmosphere that has been far more hostile than it is even today.

And so I think you can, as we go forward here, you can be assured that the security of Israel in going to be one of the main pillars of America's defense commitments and one of the main things we will be concerned about as we move through the peace process.

#### **Captured French Pilots and the Jonathan Pollard Espionage Case**

**Q.** Mr. President, one question directed specifically towards you. Can you update us on the possible release of the two French pilots in, presumably in Serbian control, and whether or not that issue could derail the peace agreement signing on Thursday in Paris? And question to both of you on, unrelated, did you have a chance to discuss the Jonathan Pollard spy case now that he has been granted Israeli citizenship, and did the Prime Minister ask you to release Pollard?

**The President.** You got a lot in there in a little time. [Laughter]

Very briefly, I wish I could tell you more about the French pilots. I can tell you this, that we are in very close touch with the French. They are working very, very hard on this. I have no factual update for you. They are working it very hard, and they expect the peace signing to go forward on time.

With regard to Mr. Pollard, the Prime Minister mentioned it to me and gave me a letter setting forth his position on it. As you know, Mr. Pollard came up once before, I think in early 1994. If he requests executive clemency, I will, of course, review that request, as I would anyone who requested it. But he has to make a request, and it has to come through the ordinary channels before I can do that.

#### **Middle East Peace Process**

**Q.** Mr. President, the Palestinian Authority is holding elections next month. I would like to ask you, how do you assess the performance of the Palestinian Authority and the performance of Yasser Arafat leading to the Palestinian elections? And when are you planning to visit the Palestinian Authority as well as the rest of the Middle East? I asked you this before; I would like to know if you are going to make another trip?

And for Mr. Prime Minister, I just want to—[laughter].

**The President.** You went to the Wolf Blitzer [Cable News Network] school of journalism, I think. [Laughter] No, go ahead, please.

**Q.** Mr. Prime Minister, I just want to wish you the great success in your performing your duties in this very crucial time in Israel and the Middle East. While I'm wishing you this, I would like very much to ask you, Mr. Prime Minister, to release the Palestinian—

**Prime Minister Peres.** Be careful with your timing.

**Q.**—to release the Palestinian prisoners as soon as possible so they will go back to their families and we will really have peace in the region, especially in the Authority. Thank you.

**The President.** Let me say, first of all, about the elections, I expect them to go forward; I expect them to be successful; I expect them to be held in a way that is generally applauded for their integrity. And I expect to go back to the Middle East at an appropriate time, but I don't have a trip scheduled. I think I'd like it to be in the context of another advance for the cause of peace. And that's where we are.

**Prime Minister Peres.** Before Christmas, 450 villages in the West Bank and all the major cities, as well as Gaza and Jericho, will be under the rule of the Palestinians for the first time in history. Israel has implemented one of our greatest moral promises: not to rule another people. Believe me, it makes us content and complete by doing so.

Part of the agreement was to release another thousand prisoners before the elections. I hope we shall release a little bit more than that but for the people that have blood stains on their hands. Until now, we kept every promise, every word. We were ahead of time. And I thought the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin puts an extra responsibility upon me to really do everything true to the commitment.

**The President.** Thank you very much. Thank you.

NOTE: The President's 110th news conference began at 1:14 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to King Hussein of Jordan, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and President Hafiz al-Asad of Syria..

## **Statement on Action To Protect Retirement Plans**

*December 11, 1995*

Hard-working Americans are doing their part to save for the future. Americans who work to support their families and save for retirement should not have to worry that the money they earned won't be there when they need it most.

Today, my administration is taking action to give the Government the tools necessary to assure American workers they can put their 401(k) savings into a system that is as safe as Fort Knox.

Every American should be encouraged to set aside money for their retirement and make investments in their economic future. Our action will assure millions of Americans that they can put their savings and their trust into a financially sound retirement plan. My administration will continue to do its part to stand guard over Americans' retirement funds.

## **Proclamation 6857—To Modify the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States, To Provide Rules of Origin Under the North American Free Trade Agreement for Affected Goods, and for Other Purposes**

*December 11, 1995*

*By the President of the United States of America*

### **A Proclamation**

1. Section 1205(a) of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 ("the 1988 Act") (19 U.S.C. 3005(a)) directs the United States International Trade Commission ("the Commission") to keep the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States ("HTS") under continuous review and periodically to recommend to the President such modifications in the HTS as the Commission considers necessary or appropriate to accomplish the purposes set forth in that subsection.

2. Section 1206(a) of the 1988 Act (19 U.S.C. 3006(a)) authorizes the President to proclaim modifications to the HTS, based on the recommendations of the Commission



under section 1205 of the 1988 Act (19 U.S.C. 3005), that he determines are in conformity with the obligations of the United States under the International Convention on the Harmonized Commodity Description and Coding System ("the Convention") and do not run counter to the national economic interest of the United States.

3. (a) Presidential Proclamation No. 6641 of December 15, 1993, implemented the North American Free Trade Agreement ("the NAFTA") with respect to the United States and, pursuant to sections 201 and 202 of the North American Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act ("the NAFTA Implementation Act") (19 U.S.C. 3331 and 3332), incorporated in the HTS the tariff modifications and rules of origin necessary or appropriate to carry out the NAFTA.

(b) Because the substance of the changes to the Convention will be reflected in slightly differing form in the national tariff schedules of the three parties to the NAFTA, the rules of origin and interpretative rules set forth in Appendix 6.A of Annex 300-B, Annex 401, and other annexes to the NAFTA must be modified to ensure that the agreed tariff and certain other treatment accorded under the NAFTA to originating goods will continue to be provided under the tariff categories affected by the modifications to the Convention. The NAFTA parties agreed, on November 6, 1995, to the text of necessary revisions to the NAFTA.

4. Section 202 of the NAFTA Implementation Act (19 U.S.C. 3332) provides certain rules for determining whether goods imported into the United States originate in the territory of a NAFTA party and thus are eligible for the tariff and other treatment contemplated under the NAFTA. Section 202(q) of the NAFTA Implementation Act (19 U.S.C. 3332(q)) authorizes the President to proclaim the rules of origin set out in the NAFTA and any additional subordinate tariff categories necessary to carry out the NAFTA Implementation Act consistent with the NAFTA.

5. Pursuant to section 1206(a) of the 1988 Act (19 U.S.C. 3006(a)) and section 202 of the NAFTA Implementation Act (19 U.S.C. 3332), I have determined (1) that the modifications to the HTS being proclaimed pursu-

ant to section 1206(a) of the 1988 Act are in conformity with the obligations of the United States under the Convention and do not run counter to the national economic interest of the United States; and (2) that the modifications to the HTS being proclaimed pursuant to section 202 of the NAFTA Implementation Act must be incorporated in the HTS in order to ensure that the tariff and certain other treatment accorded under the NAFTA will continue to be given to NAFTA originating goods. The report and lay-over requirements of section 1206(b) of the 1988 Act (19 U.S.C. 3006(b)) and section 202(q)(2) of the NAFTA Implementation Act (19 U.S.C. 3332(q)) have been complied with.

6. (a) Presidential Proclamation No. 6763 of December 23, 1994, implemented with respect to the United States the trade agreements resulting from the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations, entered into pursuant to sections 1102(a) and (e) of the 1988 Act (19 U.S.C. 2902(a) and (e)), including Schedule XX—United States of America, annexed to the Marrakesh Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1994 ("Schedule XX"). Certain provisions set forth in annexes to that proclamation contain technical errors in the instructions for implementing particular changes.

(b) Sections 1102(a) and (e) of the 1988 Act (19 U.S.C. 2902(a) and (e)) authorize the President to proclaim such modification or continuance of any existing duty, such continuance of existing duty-free or excise treatment, or such additional duties, as he determines to be required or appropriate to carry out any trade agreements entered into under those sections. Section 111(a) of the Uruguay Round Agreements Act ("the URAA") (19 U.S.C. 3521(a)) authorizes the President to proclaim such other modification of any duty, such other staged rate reduction, or such additional duties as the President determines to be necessary or appropriate to carry out Schedule XX. To clarify the intent of the changes previously proclaimed, I have decided that such technical errors should be corrected.

7. Section 604 of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended ("the 1974 Act") (19 U.S.C. 2483), authorizes the President to embody

in the HTS the substance of the relevant provisions of that Act, of other acts affecting import treatment, and actions thereunder, including the removal, modification, continuance, or imposition of any rate of duty or other import restriction.

**Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton,** President of the United States, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including but not limited to section 604 of the 1974 Act (19 U.S.C. 2483), sections 1102, 1205, and 1206 of the 1988 Act (19 U.S.C. 2902, 3005, and 3006), sections 201 and 202 of the NAFTA Implementation Act (19 U.S.C. 3331 and 3332), and section 111(a) of the URAA (19 U.S.C. 3521(a)), do hereby proclaim:

(1) In order to modify the rules of origin under the NAFTA to reflect the amendments agreed to by the NAFTA parties, and to make certain conforming changes, the general notes to the HTS are modified as set forth in Annex I to this proclamation.

(2) In order to make changes in the HTS to conform it to the Convention or any amendment thereto recommended for adoption, to promote the uniform application of the Convention, to establish additional subordinate tariff categories to carry out modifications to the rules of origin under the NAFTA, and to make technical and conforming changes to existing provisions, the HTS is modified as set forth in Annex II to this proclamation.

(3) In order to provide for the continuation of previously proclaimed staged duty reductions in the Rates of Duty 1—General subcolumn under section 111(a) of the URAA (19 U.S.C. 3521(a)), as provided in Presidential Proclamation No. 6763 of December 23, 1994, for goods in the provisions modified in Annex II to this proclamation that are entered or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption on or after the dates specified in section A of Annex III to this proclamation, the rate of duty in the HTS set forth in the Rates of Duty 1—General subcolumn for each of the HTS subheadings enumerated in section A of Annex III shall be deleted and the rate of duty provided in such section A inserted in lieu thereof.

(4) In order to provide for the continuation of previously proclaimed tariff modifications and staged duty reductions under section 201 of the NAFTA Implementation Act (19 U.S.C. 3331), as implemented with respect to the United States in Presidential Proclamation No. 6641 of December 15, 1993, for goods of Canada and of Mexico under the terms of general note 12 to the HTS classifiable in the tariff provisions set forth in or affected by Annex II to this proclamation that are entered or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption on or after the dates specified in sections B and C, respectively, of Annex III to this proclamation, the appropriate rate of duty in the HTS set forth in the rates of Duty 1—Special subcolumn followed by the symbol “CA” or “MX”, respectively, for each of the HTS subheadings enumerated in sections B and C of Annex III shall be deleted and the rate of duty provided in such sections inserted in lieu thereof.

(5)(a) In order to make technical corrections to certain provisions of the annexes to Presidential Proclamation No. 6763 of December 23, 1994, such provisions are modified as set forth in Annex IV to this proclamation.

(b) All provisions of previous proclamations and Executive orders inconsistent with the actions taken in this proclamation are hereby superseded to the extent of such inconsistency.

(6)(a) The modifications to the HTS made by Annexes I and II to this proclamation shall be effective with respect to goods entered or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption on and after the later of (i) January 1, 1996, or (ii) the date that is 15 days after the date of publication of this proclamation in the *Federal Register*.

(b) The modifications to the HTS made by Annexes III and IV to this proclamation shall be effective with respect to goods entered or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption on and after the dates specified in such annexes to this proclamation for each action specified.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this eleventh day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-five, and of the Independence of the

United States of America the two hundred and twentieth.

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., December 14, 1995]

NOTE: This proclamation and the attached annexes were published in the *Federal Register* on December 15.

**Letter to Senate Democratic Leader  
Thomas Daschle on Implementation  
of the Balkan Peace Process**

*December 11, 1995*

*Dear Mr. Leader:*

Just four weeks ago, the leaders of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia came to Dayton, Ohio, in America's heartland, to negotiate and initial a peace agreement to end the war in Bosnia. There, they made a commitment to peace. They agreed to put down their guns; to preserve Bosnia as a single state; to cooperate with the War Crimes Tribunal and to try to build a peaceful, democratic future for all the people of Bosnia. They asked for NATO and America's help to implement this peace agreement.

On Friday, December 1, the North Atlantic Council approved NATO's operational plan, OPLAN 10405, the Implementation of a Peace Agreement in the Former Yugoslavia. On Saturday, General George Joulwan, Supreme Allied Commander Europe, who will be commanding the NATO operation, briefed me in Germany on the final OPLAN.

Having reviewed the OPLAN, I find the mission is clearly defined with realistic goals that can be achieved in a definite period of time. The risks to our troops have been minimized to the maximum extent possible. American troops will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO. They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained. In making an overwhelming show of force, they will lessen the need to use force. They will have the authority, as well as the training and the equipment, to respond with decisive force to any threat to their own safety or any violations of the military provisions of the peace agreement. U.S.

and NATO commanders believe the military mission can be accomplished in about a year.

A summary of the OPLAN is attached. Of course, members of my staff and the Administration are available to answer your questions and further brief you on the OPLAN as you require.

I consider the Dayton peace agreement to be a serious commitment by the parties to settle this conflict. In light of that agreement and my approval of the final NATO OPLAN, I would welcome a Congressional expression of support for U.S. participation in a NATO-led Implementation Force in Bosnia. I believe Congressional support for U.S. participation is immensely important to the unity of our purpose and the morale of our troops.

I believe there has been a timely opportunity for the Congress to consider and act upon my request for support since the initialing in Dayton on November 21. As you know, the formal signing of the Peace Agreement will take place in Paris on December 14.

As I informed you earlier, I have authorized the participation of a small number of American troops in a NATO advance mission that will lay the groundwork for IFOR, starting this week. They will establish headquarters and set up the sophisticated communications systems that must be in place before NATO can send in its troops, tanks and trucks to Bosnia.

America has a responsibility to help to turn this moment of hope into an enduring reality. As the leader of NATO—the only institution capable of implementing this peace agreement—the United States has a profound interest in participating in this mission, which will give the people of Bosnia the confidence and support they need to preserve the peace and prevent this dangerous war in the heart of Europe from resuming and spreading. Since taking office, I have refused to send American troops to fight a war in Bosnia, but I believe we must help now to secure this Bosnian peace.

Sincerely,

**Bill Clinton**

NOTE: A summary of the operation plan for the implementation of the peace agreement in the former Yugoslavia was attached to the President's letter.

**Remarks to Citizens Involved in Humanitarian Relief Efforts for Bosnia and an Exchange With Reporters**

*December 12, 1995*

**The President.** Well, first of all, let me say that I know I speak for everyone here in thanking the people who have spoken and thanking them, more importantly, for their remarkable efforts. I want to express my appreciation to two of their Representatives who joined us: Congressman Ehlers from Michigan and Congressman Moran from Virginia. To Franklin Graham, thank you, sir, for the remarkable work that you are doing and for giving people like Mary the chance to be remarkable in their own right.

What you have just heard is a series of astonishing human testaments. I don't know that I've ever felt more proud to be an American than I did in the last few minutes just listening to these people talk. And I know all of you feel that way as well.

The purpose of our mission is to take advantage of this remarkable opportunity we have when all of the parties have agreed to make peace, when they have agreed that the madness you have just heard recounted ought to stop.

We saw further evidence of their good-faith intention to do their part this morning, when the French pilots were released. And I just, by pure coincidence, had the French Ambassador in this morning, and I told him to convey to President Chirac the joy of all Americans that these pilots are free because the mission that we all undertook together through NATO had a lot to do with bringing about this peace agreement.

Since I became President, I have said that I thought the United States had an obligation to participate in the enforcement of a peace agreement. Because we have a peace agreement, which is enforceable, which can be protected, which can be enhanced by the NATO force, the work that you have just heard about will be able to be multiplied hundreds of times over. And that's the thing I want to emphasize to all of you.

The NATO mission in which the United States will play a leading role by separating the forces, by making sure the territory is

the way the peace agreement agreed, by maintaining a secure environment, will permit more of these things to be done, will permit the reconstruction effort to proceed, not only the physical reconstruction effort but the human reconstruction effort.

And I have just told all of the folks whom you heard speak that it is very important that these efforts continue in Bosnia and, in fact, be intensified because there are a lot of lives that have to be put together; there are a lot of communities that have to be rebuilt. But this kind of energy by the American people and by others throughout the world who will join now in helping them can help to turn the worst nightmare in Europe since the end of the Second World War into a story of reconciliation and peace and progress.

And again, let me say, there is nothing I can say to add to what these fine people have said. But when Americans like these folks are willing to do what they have done, I think it is incumbent on the United States, the other NATO powers, the others who are joining with us, to make sure that this peace takes hold and is preserved so that they can do it in an atmosphere free of fear for themselves and help that country come back and help all these little children regain their childhood.

I hope we all live to see the day when the only bombs in the world are peace bombs.

Thank you very much.

**Q.** Mr. President, are you going to be able to get this through Congress, win approval?

**The President.** Well, let me say I'm quite encouraged by two things. Number one, a very large number of Members of Congress, especially House Members, have actually gone to the region in the last few days, and I applaud them for doing it. And some of those with deep reservations about the missions have gone. I have no exact vote count for you, but I can tell you that it's clear to me that there's been a real shift among those who have gone. Those who have gone have come back more favorable than they left America. And so I can't believe that when the time for the counting comes that Congress won't support our troops in this mission. I believe they will.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Franklin Graham, president of Samaritan's Purse; Mary Damron of Ikes Fork, WV; and President Jacques Chirac of France.

**Statement on the 1st Anniversary of the Summit of the Americas**

*December 12, 1995*

Last December, I joined the other 33 democratically elected leaders from the Western Hemisphere in Miami for the historic Summit of the Americas. Working in a new spirit of cooperation, we set a common agenda to strengthen the advance of democracy in our region, to protect our environment and natural resources, to expand opportunities for our nations and our communities, and to promote a new partnership for hemispheric prosperity.

Over the last year, the hemisphere's leaders have worked hard to realize the ambitious program defined at the summit. We are working together to challenge money-launderers, narcotics traffickers, and others who ignore the rule of law. A new hemispheric Partnership for Pollution Prevention will phase out the use of leaded gasoline and other chemicals that contaminate our air and poison our soil.

In June, we hosted a meeting of regional trade and commerce ministers to discuss measures to facilitate trade liberalization and to begin preparations for the negotiation of a Free Trade Area of the Americas by the year 2005. Already, falling trade barriers have allowed our exports to the hemisphere to grow by 12 percent in the first half of 1995 to \$112 billion, generating over 180,000 export-related jobs. Steady progress means more jobs and opportunities for American workers and U.S. businesses as we look toward the next century.

Working together, the democratic nations of this hemisphere have achieved much. I know we can accomplish much more. Despite the challenges faced by our hemisphere this past year, the foundations of the summit remain strong and our nations, including the United States, remain committed to our common goals.

**Statement on the Resignation of Lee Brown as Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy**

*December 12, 1995*

It is with regret that I have accepted the decision of Dr. Lee Brown, Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, to return to private life and a teaching position. As Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy and as a former police officer, Dr. Brown has devoted much of his life and the entirety of the past 2½ years to fighting the scourge of drugs in America.

My administration is strongly committed to the battle against drugs, which will never be over until every child in America knows that drug use is dangerous, illegal, and wrong. We still have far to go, but under Dr. Brown's stewardship, we have made solid progress: cracking down on the international drug trade by breaking the powerful Cali drug cartel, calling for drug testing of high school athletes, toughening punishment of drug-related violence, and challenging the entertainment industry and sports figures to do their part to speak out about the dangers of drugs.

I am grateful for Dr. Brown's good service and for the groundwork that he has laid. My administration will not rest until every young American knows the difference between right and wrong when it comes to drug use.

**Letter to Senators Robert Dole and John McCain on the Balkan Peace Process**

*December 12, 1995*

*Dear Mr. Leader:*

I am writing in response to your December 12 letter on equip and train. You raise several questions to which I would like to respond.

First of all, the United States will take a leadership role in coordinating an international effort to ensure that the Bosnian Federation receives the assistance necessary to achieve an adequate military balance when IFOR leaves. As in all things related to our effort to bringing peace to the region, U.S. leadership has been critical.

As I stated in my December 10 letter to you, I want to assure the impartiality of IFOR. In the view of my military advisors, this requires minimizing the involvement of U.S. military personnel. But we expect that some individual military officers, for example, working in OSD, DSAA or other agencies, will be involved in planning this effort. We also will offer the Bosnians participation in U.S. programs such as IMET. I agree that maintaining flexibility is important to the success of the effort to achieve a stable military balance within Bosnia. But I will do nothing that I believe will endanger the safety of American troops on the ground in Bosnia. I am sure you will agree that is my primary responsibility.

I want to assure you that I am focusing on what the United States can do. That is why I sent an assessment team to the region to properly evaluate the needs of the Federation. Training programs and provision of non-lethal assistance can begin immediately after the peace agreement enters into force; and provision of small arms can begin after three months. We intend to move expeditiously.

I have given you my word that we will make certain that the Bosnian Federation will receive the assistance necessary to achieve an adequate military balance when IFOR leaves. I intend to keep it.

Sincerely,

**Bill Clinton**

NOTE: This letter was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 12 but was not issued as a White House press release.

### **Remarks Following a Meeting With Elie Wiesel and an Exchange With Reporters**

*December 13, 1995*

#### **Balkan Peace Process**

**The President.** Good morning. I have just had the pleasure of a meeting with Elie Wiesel to discuss our efforts to secure the peace in Bosnia. The citation on the Nobel Peace Prize, awarded to Elie Wiesel 9 years ago, describes him as a messenger to mankind. He is a passionate witness to humanity's

capacity for the worst and a powerful example of humanity's capacity for the best.

Throughout his life, he has been an advocate for peace and human dignity and the duty we owe to one another, and I'd like to ask him to say just a few words about the decisions that are before our country and the work of peace in Bosnia.

**Mr. Wiesel.** Mr. President, it is with a great sense of pride and pleasure that I came to support your decision. I believe it is right; I believe it is honorable. Two years ago or so, when we both spoke at the very important event, the opening of the Holocaust Memorial Museum, I left my prepared remarks and appealed to you, to your humanity, which I know is profound, to do something, anything, to stop the killing, the bloodshed, the violence, the hatred, the massacre in former Yugoslavia.

I know how concerned you were. I know you tried. You tried very hard, trying to influence the European nations, the allies, the United Nations. And what you are doing now will be remembered in history, because it is intervention on the highest level and in its most noble form.

We in the United States represent a certain moral aspect of history. A great nation owes its greatness not only to its military power but also to its moral consciousness, awareness. What would future generations say about us, all of us here in this land, if we do nothing? After all, people were dying; people were killing each other day after day. They stopped, thanks to your leadership. I know of no other world figure today who has done so much in the field for foreign affairs as you have, Mr. President. To send American men and women to preserve the peace is an act of courage and of decency, and I use the word advisedly, it's an act of morality, and that is why I am here with you today, Mr. President.

**The President.** Thank you very much. I'd like just to make, if I might, one or two other remarks. As all of you know, I will travel to Paris this evening to witness the signing of the peace agreement. After nearly 4 years of terrible destruction, Bosnia is at peace. We must not lose sight of that fact. This is an extraordinary achievement, and the question now is whether the peace will endure.

Ultimately of course, that will have to be decided by the Bosnian people themselves. But they cannot have the opportunity to have peace take hold without American leadership. I believe our Nation has already made the difference between war and peace there. Now, I believe only the United States can make the difference between whether the peace takes hold, because the actions of all of our allies depend upon our working together.

I hope that the Members of Congress will recognize that fundamental truth as they consider support for our troops and for the mission of peace in Bosnia. We have an obligation as we make this decision to remember that Bosnia's war involved a lot of innocent people. Snipers and shells turn schoolyards into graveyards. There were terrified faces of women and girls who were raped as an instrument of war. There were skeletal prisoners behind barbed wire fences in what can only be called concentration camps. There were defenseless men who were shot down into mass graves.

Now we have a chance to end all that and to give Bosnia a chance at a better future. I think we should also not forget that the situation there has not always been hopeless; that's another thing I think that has colored this debate. The fact is that for generations, Bosnia was a place where people of different traditions and faiths could, and did, live side by side in peace. Its people were joined by marriage, by language, by culture.

One of the most heartbreaking things to me is to see refugees from Bosnia in our own country who comprise families that have Croatian and Serbian and Muslim roots within one family, being driven out of their country. We now can give that country a future back again, and I hope the Congress will vote to do it, and I believe America must lead the way in doing it. And I thank you, Elie Wiesel, for being a conscience of this terrible conflict for the last 4 years.

**Q.** What do you think the chances are of getting support in Congress?

**The President.** I don't know. We're working hard. We had another—I had another long meeting yesterday with the Members of the Senate. And I understand there's going to be a vote—there are a series of votes there

sometime today. Then I think the House will have to determine what to do based on what the Senate does. That's—my instinct is that they have not—it's not clear to me where it's going, but we have worked very hard, and we will continue to work hard. And in the end I just can't believe that Congress won't support our troops in this mission. That's what I think will happen.

**Q.** Mr. President, when you sit down with the three Balkan leaders tomorrow, you will come to them as the leader of a nation that is divided about whether to support them. What will you tell them?

**The President.** Well, if they're concerned about that, I will tell them that our people have always had a reluctance to send our young people in uniform overseas—that goes back throughout our entire history—and that on the whole that has been a healthy thing, because we have not been—we have not been a country that has sought the gains of empire. We have not been a country that has sought to tell other people how they must live their lives, but that we are fundamentally a good people and when we understand our duty, historically, we nearly always do it. That's what I'll—thank you.

### **Federal Budget**

**Q.** What do you think of the Republicans thinking you shouldn't go, and you should work on the budget?

**The President.** We will be working on the budget.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

## **Proclamation 6858—Wright Brothers Day, 1995**

*December 13, 1995*

*By the President of the United States of America*

### **A Proclamation**

Ninety-two years ago, Orville Wright manned the first sustained and controlled, machine-powered flight in an airplane he designed and built with his brother Wilbur. This extraordinary journey, though only 12 seconds long, was the first great achievement

of a partnership that revolutionized aviation and made remarkable contributions to aerodynamics, mechanical engineering, and practical flight techniques. The Wright brothers' pioneering efforts remain enduring examples of American ingenuity and perseverance.

Today, the United States aviation industry helps to drive our economy and provides business and recreational opportunities to our citizens that were unthinkable just a century ago. Our reliance on air transit grows each year, challenging the aviation community and the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) to meet new safety and operational demands.

Our air transportation system, already the safest and most efficient in the world, continues to improve. In fact, efforts are underway to craft reforms that enhance the efficiency of the FAA so that America's leadership in air transportation, begun with the Wright brothers' historic flight on December 17, 1903, can continue well into the next century.

The Congress, by a joint resolution approved December 17, 1963 (77 Stat. 402; 36 U.S.C. 169), has designated December 17 of each year as "Wright Brothers Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue annually a proclamation inviting the people of the United States to observe that day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

**Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton,** President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim December 17, 1995, as Wright Brothers Day.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this thirteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twentieth.

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., December 14, 1995]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on December 15.

## **Message to the Congress Transmitting the Farmington River Report**

*December 13, 1995*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I take pleasure in transmitting the enclosed report for the Farmington River in the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The report and my recommendations are in response to the provisions of the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, Public Law 90-542, as amended. The Farmington River Study was authorized by Public Law 99-590.

The study was conducted by the National Park Service, with invaluable assistance from a congressionally mandated study committee. The National Park Service determined that the 11-mile study segment in Massachusetts and the 14-mile study segment in Connecticut were eligible for designation based upon their free-flowing character and recreational, fish, wildlife and historic values.

The 14-mile Connecticut segment of the river has already been designated as a Wild and Scenic River pursuant to Public Law 103-313, August 26, 1994. The purpose of this transmittal is to inform the Congress that, although eligible for designation, I do not recommend that the Massachusetts segment be designated at this time due to lack of support by the towns adjoining it. If at some future date the towns should change their position and the river has retained its present characteristics, the Congress could reconsider the issue. Also, for 3 years from the date of this transmittal, the Massachusetts segment will remain subject to section 7(b) of the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act. Section 7(b) prohibits licensing of projects by the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and Federal or federally assisted water resource development projects that would have a direct and adverse effect on the values for which the river might be designated. Finally, the report includes the Upper Farmington River Management Plan that is referenced in Public Law 103-313 as the plan by which the designated river will be managed.

The plan demonstrated a true partnership effort of the type that we believe will be increasingly necessary if we are to have afford-



able protection of our environment in the future.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
December 13, 1995.

**Proclamation 6859—To Modify the  
Tariff-Rate Quota on Italian-Type  
Cheeses From Poland**

*December 13, 1995*

*By the President of the United States  
of America*

**A Proclamation**

1. On May 17, 1995, the United States and Poland signed a Record of Understanding Between Poland and the United States of America on Agricultural Items, which provides for an increase in the allocation to Poland of the in-quota quantity of the tariff-rate quota on Italian-type cheeses.

2. Section 404(d)(3) of the Uruguay Round Agreements Act ("the URAA") (19 U.S.C. 3601(d)(3)) authorizes the President to allocate the in-quota quantity of a tariff-rate quota for any agricultural product among supplying countries or customs areas and to modify any allocation as the President determines appropriate.

3. Accordingly, pursuant to section 404(d)(3) of the URAA, I have determined that it is appropriate to proclaim an increase in the allocation to Poland of the in-quota quantity of the tariff-rate quota for Italian-type cheeses.

4. Section 604 of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended ("the 1974 Act") (19 U.S.C. 2483), authorizes the President to embody in the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States ("the HTS") the substance of the relevant provisions of that Act, and of other Acts affecting import treatment, and actions thereunder, including the removal, modification, continuance, or imposition of any rate of duty or other import restriction. The modification of the allocation to Poland of the in-quota quantity of the tariff-rate quota for Italian-type cheeses is such an action.

**Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton,**  
President of the United States of America,

acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including but not limited to section 404(d)(3) of the URAA (19 U.S.C. 3601(d)(3)) and section 604 of the 1974 Act (19 U.S.C. 2483), do proclaim that:

(1) Additional U.S. note 21 to chapter 4 of the HTS is modified by deleting the quantity "1,100,000" set out opposite Poland and inserting "1,325,000" in lieu thereof.

(2) This proclamation is effective with respect to goods entered or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption on or after the date of signature of this proclamation.

**In Witness Whereof**, I have hereunto set my hand this thirteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twentieth.

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register,  
8:45 a.m., December 15, 1995]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 14, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on December 18.

**Remarks Prior to Discussions With  
Balkan Leaders and an Exchange  
With Reporters in Paris, France**

*December 14, 1995*

**Balkan Peace Process**

**The President.** As you know, we will be having formal ceremonies later today, and more remarks will be made then. I just want to say very briefly, because we want to get on to our meeting, that I applaud these leaders for making the decision to turn from war to peace that they will formalize today. And tomorrow, they will begin the hard work of making that peace real.

I am pleased that they have asked the United States, our NATO allies, and a number of other countries, to help them secure this peace. And I am pleased that we will be going forward to do it.

I'm convinced that working together in good faith, this effort can be successful.

**Q.** Are you concerned that there may be some reluctance in parts of the Balkans to implement a peace?

**The President.** All I can tell you is the cease-fire has been in place for a couple of months. It has basically held. There have been many things that have happened in the last 3 years. I'm sure many people have different feelings, but we believe these leaders have acted in good faith and will continue to do so. And if they do, we think we'll be successful.

**Q.** Do you think the Congress has given you a whole-hearted vote of support on this, or how do you—how do you rate—

**The President.** I'll tell you how I read the vote. I think Congress—first of all, both Houses decided not to cut off funds and to support the troops. And the Senate, in what could only be characterized as an overwhelming bipartisan vote, gave its support to the mission subject to conditions with which the administration agrees. So I was quite pleased with where the Congress came out yesterday compared to where they were just a month ago. And again, I think that is in part due to the fact that these leaders have been willing to meet with the Members of the Congress who have traveled to the area in the last couple of weeks. And I think they have seen the people and their desire for peace. And they have heard from these leaders about their desire for peace and their determination. And I feel that we made a lot of progress. And I think now that the time for debate is over; the time for decision is at hand. And I believe the United States and the United States Congress will rally behind our troops in this mission.

**Q.** Are you satisfied with the pace of the deployment, Mr. President? Are you satisfied that the deployment is proceeding as fast as it can at this point?

**The President.** Yes, you know, it's the winter. We have snow. We have first one thing then another, but I think we're going forward in good faith and in an appropriate way.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:22 a.m. at the Ambassador's residence, prior to meeting with President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, and President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia.

A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

## **Remarks at the Signing Ceremony for the Balkan Peace Agreement in Paris**

*December 14, 1995*

President Chirac, President Izetbegovic, President Tudjman, President Milosevic, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, Secretary General Solana, High Representative Bildt, Prime Minister Filali, Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, Prime Minister Major, Prime Minister Gonzalez, Chancellor Kohl: Let me begin, on behalf of the people of the United States, by thanking all of those whose labor and wisdom helped to keep hope alive during the long, dark years of war, the humanitarian relief workers, the United Nations forces from Europe and beyond. Had it not been for their dedication and their sacrifice, the toll of the war in Bosnia would have been even greater.

And I thank those whose work helped make this moment of peace possible, beginning with our host, Prime Minister Chirac, for his vigor and determination; Prime Minister Major, who was a full partner in the development of the rapid reaction force and our NATO cooperation; and our friend, Chancellor Kohl, who has taken so many of the refugees and who now is sending German troops beyond his border in this historic common endeavor. I thank the leaders of the strong NATO and the determined negotiating team of Russians, Europeans, and Americans.

All of you have brought us to this bright new day, when Bosnia turns from the horror of war to the promise of peace. President Izetbegovic, President Tudjman, President Milosevic, by making peace you have answered the call of your people. You have heard them say, "Stop the war. End the suffering. Give our children the blessings of a normal life."

In this chorus for peace today we also hear the hallowed voices of the victims, the children whose playgrounds were shelled in the killing fields, the young girls brutalized by rape, the men shot down in mass graves,

those who starved in the camps, those who died in battle, the millions taken from their homes and torn from their families. Even from beyond the grave there are victims singing the song of peace today. May their voices be in our minds and our hearts forever.

In Dayton, these three Balkan leaders made the fateful choice for peace. Today, Mr. Presidents, you have bound yourselves to peace. But tomorrow you must turn the pages of this agreement into a real-life future of hope for those who have survived this horrible war. At your request, the United States and more than 25 other nations will send you our most precious resource, the men and women of our Armed Forces. Their mission, to allow the Bosnian people to emerge from a nightmare of fear into a new day of security, according to terms you have approved in a manner that is evenhanded and fair to all.

The international community will work with you to change the face of Bosnia: to meet human needs; to repair and to rebuild; to reunite children with their families and refugees with their homes; to oversee democratic elections, advance human rights, and call to account those accused of war crimes.

We can do all these things, but we cannot guarantee the future of Bosnia. No one outside can guarantee that Muslims, Croats, and Serbs in Bosnia will come together and stay together as free citizens in a united country sharing a common destiny. Only the Bosnian people can do that.

I know the losses have been staggering, the scars are deep. We feel even today that the wounds have not healed. But Bosnia must find a way, with God's grace, to lay down the hatreds, to give up the revenge, to go forward together. That is the road—indeed, that is the only road—to the future.

We see from Northern Ireland to the Middle East, from South Africa to Haiti, people turning from hatred to hope. Here in Europe countries that for centuries fought now work together for peace. Soon the Bosnian people will see for themselves the awesome potential of people to turn from conflict to cooperation. In just a few days troops from all over Europe and North America and elsewhere; troops from Great Britain, France and Germany; troops from Greece and Turkey; troops from Poland and Lithuania; and

troops from the United States and Russia, former enemies, now friends will answer the same call and share the same responsibilities to achieve the same goal, a lasting peace in Bosnia where enemies can become friends.

Why would they do this? Because their hearts are broken by the suffering and the slaughter; because their minds recoil at the prospect of needless spreading war in the heart of Europe. But they—we—do so in the face of skeptics who say the people of the Balkans cannot escape their bloody past, that Balkan hearts are too hard for peace.

But let us remember this war did violence not only to Bosnia's people but also to Bosnia's history. For Bosnia once found unity in its diversity. Generations of Muslims, Orthodox, Catholics, and Jews lived side by side, and enriched the world by their example. They built schools and libraries and wondrous places of worship. Part of the population laid down their tools on Friday, part on Saturday, and part on Sunday. But their lives were woven together by marriage and culture, work, a common language, and a shared pride in a place that then they all called home. Now, if that past is any guide, this peace can take hold. And if the people of Bosnia want a decent future for their children, this peace must take hold.

Here in this City of Light, at this moment of hope, let us recall how this century, marked by so much progress and too much bloodshed, witness to humanity's best and humanity's worst, how this century began in Bosnia. At the dawn of the century, when gunfire in Sarajevo sparked the first of our two World Wars, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Gray, said these words: "The lamps are going out all over Europe. We shall not see them lit again in our lifetimes."

But they were lit again, by an extraordinary generation of Europeans and Americans. The torch of freedom they carried now shines more brightly than ever before on every continent. That torch can shine on Bosnia again, but first it must warm the hearts of the Bosnian people.

So I say to all the people of the Balkans on behalf of all of us who would come to see this peace take hold: You have seen what war has wrought. You know what peace can

bring. Seize this chance and make it work. You can do nothing to erase the past, but you can do everything to build the future. Do not let your children down.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. in the Salon des Fetes at the Elysee Palace. In his remarks, he referred to President Jacques Chirac of France, U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, NATO Secretary General Juan Solana, High Representative of the Balkan peace conference Carl Bildt, Prime Minister Abdellatif Filali of Morocco, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin of Russia, Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom, Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez of Spain, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany.

### **Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Citizens Medals**

*December 15, 1995*

**The President.** Good afternoon. Congressman Davis, Secretary Perry, General Shalikashvili, Deputy Secretary Talbott, distinguished friends: Let me say it is a great honor to welcome the Frasure family, the Kruzel family, the Drew family here today.

Yesterday in Paris I watched the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia sign an agreement that turns their troubled region from war to peace. Then on behalf of our Nation, I witnessed the agreement.

I witnessed it also in a more personal sense on behalf of three great Americans who could not be there: Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel, and Nelson Drew. For without their efforts there would have been no agreement in Dayton, and no signing in Paris. The shells would still be falling in Sarajevo.

When Bob, Joe, and Nelson died on Mount Igman on August the 19th, they were serving in the greatest of all missions, working for peace and freedom. How I wish they could know that their efforts were destined to be crowned with success. I think they do.

They knew their mission was dangerous. They talked about the risks the night before they set out for Sarajevo. Just a few days earlier they had tried to get in by helicopter, but were forced back by bad weather. But because of who they were, they never hesi-

tated, and the next morning they set out again.

To the family and friends of these three good and brave men, let me say again, as I have said before, we will never forget them. Their sacrifice reminds us of the tragedy they sought to relieve and reinforces the urgency of the search for a solution. They worked together as a team, but each had unique strengths.

Bob Frasure was a career diplomat who found the most difficult assignments, or perhaps it would be better to say they found him. From Angola to Ethiopia, to Estonia, and of course, to Bosnia, he helped to write some of the most dramatic chapters in the history of modern American foreign policy, yet he never sought the limelight for himself. As Secretary Christopher has said, he was a man of great accomplishment but little visible ego. His ingenuity and skill were matched by exceptional wit. His telegrams were so well written and compelling that they instantly became the talk of the State Department. His warmth touched countless colleagues and his judgment and resourcefulness countless lives.

Joe Kruzel was also a man with an apparently endless sense of humor. Over a three-decade career of service to our Nation, he retained also his idealism about our goals, while leavening it with a healthy dose of realism about the foibles of any large bureaucratic effort.

One of his colleagues remarked that while others were focused on day-to-day events, Joe's eyes were always on the horizon. He saw that an undivided democratic Europe was within reach, and he led the Pentagon's efforts in reaching out to the East to make that dream a reality. All of us, including myself and Bill Perry, valued his sage and firm advice. He did not mince words, and we all listened.

Nelson Drew, who served on my own staff, was a rare combination of remarkable soldier, respected scholar, profound strategic thinker, and a fine human being: born to a military family, achieving an exceptional military career, but he made peace his calling. I remember meeting him for the very first time in my office this past July just after I had finished a call with Prime Minister Major. I

asked those in the room a question about Bosnia, and Nelson stepped forward to answer it with his usual succinct and clear wisdom. He was always ready to step forward for peace in Bosnia.

Bob, Joe, and Nelson devoted their lives and they gave their lives to achieve that goal. Now, we must follow the example they set to make sure this peace takes hold. Nothing we can say or do can bring our friends back again. But by striving to seal the peace in Bosnia for good, we can shape a future worthy of their noble sacrifice.

We honor their memory today and forever with the President's Citizens Medal.

Commander, post the orders.

[At this point, Lt. Comdr. John M. Richardson, USN, Naval Aide to the President, read the citations, and the President presented the awards.]

**The President.** Let me just say in closing that all Americans, whether or not they knew Bob, Joe, and Nelson, have been touched by their service to our country. Yesterday I saw it myself in Paris and just last month in my trip to the United Kingdom, to Ireland, to Germany and Spain. From people on the streets to Presidents and Prime Ministers, the world is looking for our leadership for peace because they know America can be trusted.

The world places that faith in our Nation because of the work of individual American citizens like Bob and Joe and Nelson. They embodied the spirit of service that sets our Nation apart. They stood for something larger than themselves. Like so many of their colleagues, they accepted hardship and the risks that go along with the job they embraced.

Often they were rewarded for their efforts only by more difficult assignments, for our country needs its best people precisely where the challenges are greatest. They answered that call to duty with courage and conviction and grace. They understood that our leadership requires our involvement and our commitment, not from the sidelines but on the ground at the heart of events.

These three exemplify the qualities that make our country strong: a faith that one person can touch the lives of many, a willingness

to work hard for something they believed in, a generous heart and spirit. Their wonderful families that you have applauded so warmly today are perhaps the best and finest testament to the lives that they lived.

Without pause or complaint, they took it upon themselves to bring the gift of peace and freedom to others around the world, not for personal ambition but solely because it was the right thing to do.

Ralph Waldo Emerson once wrote, "Let him be great, and love shall follow him." Looking at the faces of Katharina Frasure and Sarah and Virginia, Gail Kruzel and John and Sarah, Sandy Drew and Samantha and Philip and all the other family members here, we can say that love has truly followed these three great Americans we have honored.

May God bless and protect their memories, their families, and the country they gave everything to serve.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:24 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. The medal was awarded posthumously to Nelson Drew, Joseph Kruzel, and Robert Frasure, American diplomats who died in Bosnia on August 19, 1995.

### **Letter to Congressional Leaders on the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program**

*December 15, 1995*

*Dear Mr. Leader:*

I am increasingly concerned that, under the current continuing resolution, the Low Income Home Energy Assistance program (LIHEAP) is not meeting the needs of families requiring heating assistance.

With the onset of winter, low-income families need more help to keep their homes warm. Each year, LIHEAP assistance goes to about six million needy households, many of which have an elderly or disabled member or young children.

Normally, by this time of year, States' energy assistance programs would be adequately funded to help households tackle high energy bills and insulate drafty homes. This year, however, Congress still has not passed a full-year appropriations bill for

Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies—the bill which funds LIHEAP. The House voted to end LIHEAP altogether.

Under the two continuing resolutions that have been enacted this fall, LIHEAP has been funded at only \$232 million. Last year, over three times that amount was available to States between September and the end of December.

I strongly urge Congress to pass a full-year appropriation as soon as possible that includes funding for LIHEAP. At a minimum, Congress must enable the Administration to make available a seasonally appropriate share of the previously appropriated funds for LIHEAP.

Congress should act quickly. Since winter is almost upon us, a rising number of low-income Americans, particularly those living in colder regions, will continue to need more help to keep warm at home.

Sincerely,

**Bill Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Robert Dole, Senate Majority Leader; Richard Gephardt, House Democratic Leader; and Thomas Daschle, Senate Democratic Leader.

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### **Digest of Other White House Announcements**

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The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

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#### **December 9**

In the morning, the President traveled to Fayetteville, AR, and in the afternoon, the President traveled to Little Rock, AR.

#### **December 10**

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC.

#### **December 11**

In the early afternoon, the President had a telephone conversation with President Hafiz al-Asad of Syria.

#### **December 12**

In a morning ceremony in the Oval Office, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Francois Bujon de l'Etang of France, Cheick Oumar Diarra of Mali, and Jalbuugijn Choinhor of Mongolia.

In the afternoon, the President had telephone conversations with Senate majority leader Bob Dole and Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich on budget negotiations.

Later, the President met with Democratic and Republican Senators to discuss Bosnia.

The President announced his intention to nominate A.E. Dick Howard to the James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation.

The President announced his intention to appoint Thomas L. Baldini as Commissioner of the International Boundary Commission, United States and Canada.

#### **December 13**

In the afternoon, the President met with a bipartisan group of Governors to discuss Medicaid.

In the evening, the President traveled to Paris, France.

#### **December 14**

In the evening, the President returned to Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate Princeton Lyman to be Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs.

The President announced his intention to nominate Patrick Davidson, Speight Jenkins, and Townsend D. Wolfe III to the National Council on the Arts.

The President announced his intention to nominate George W. Black, Jr., to be a member of the National Transportation Safety Board.

The President announced his intention to appoint Roslyn A. Mazer to be Chair of the Interagency Security Classification Appeals Panel.

The President announced his intention to appoint Col. Warren L. Freeman to be the

commanding general of the District of Columbia National Guard.

The President announced his intention to nominate Pascal D. Forgione, Jr., to be Commissioner of the National Center for Education Statistics.

***December 15***

The President announced that Ugo Fano and Martin Kamen are the recipients of the 1995 Enrico Fermi Award.

The President announced his intention to appoint Thomas J. Scotto and Patrick J. Sullivan, Jr., to the National Commission on Crime Control and Prevention.

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**Nominations  
Submitted to the Senate**

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The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

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***Submitted December 11***

Princeton Nathan Lyman,  
of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Career Minister, to be an Assistant Secretary of State, vice Douglas Joseph Bennet, Jr., resigned.

Alfred C. DeCotiis,  
of New Jersey, to be a Representative of the United States of America to the 50th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Joseph Lane Kirkland,  
of the District of Columbia, to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 50th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Tom Lantos,  
of California, to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 50th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Jeanne Moutoussamy-Ashe,  
of New York, to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 50th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Toby Roth,  
of Wisconsin, to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 50th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

***Submitted December 12***

A.E. Dick Howard,  
of Virginia, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation for a term of 6 years, vice Lance Banning.

James P. Jones,  
of Virginia, to be U.S. District Judge for the Western District of Virginia, vice James H. Michael, Jr., retired.

Cheryl B. Wattley,  
of Texas, to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Texas (new position).

***Submitted December 13***

Tom Lantos,  
of California, to be a Representative of the United States of America to the 50th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Toby Roth,  
of Wisconsin, to be a Representative of the United States of America to the 50th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

***Withdrawn December 13***

Tom Lantos,  
of California, to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 50th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which was sent to the Senate on December 11, 1995.

Toby Roth,  
of Wisconsin, to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 50th Session of the General Assembly of the

United Nations, which was sent to the Senate on December 11, 1995.

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### **Checklist of White House Press Releases**

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The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

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#### ***Released December 11***

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry announcing the President's letter to Senate Democratic leader Thomas Daschle on implementation of the Balkan peace process

#### ***Released December 12***

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on National Security Adviser Anthony Lake's meeting with Wei Shanshan, sister of Chinese democracy activist Wei Jingsheng

Announcement of nomination of U.S. District Judges for the Western District of Virginia and the Northern District of Texas

#### ***Released December 13***

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on China's conviction and imprisonment of democracy activist Wei Jingsheng

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on apprehension of suspect terrorist Wali Khan

Announcement of nomination of U.S. District Judge for the Western District of Missouri

#### ***Released December 14***

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the United Nations vote of condemnation on the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others by the Nigerian Government

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry announcing the Presidential delegation to observe Haitian Presidential elections on December 17

Announcement of economic reconstruction and humanitarian assistance for Bosnia

#### ***Released December 15***

Transcript of press briefings by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Transcript of a press briefing by NSC Senior Director for Nonproliferation and Export Controls Dan Poneman on the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization

Announcement of presentation of Presidential Citizens Medals to the families of the three U.S. diplomats who died in Bosnia on August 19

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### **Acts Approved by the President**

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#### ***Approved December 8*<sup>1</sup>**

H.R. 2519 / Public Law 104-62  
Philanthropy Protection Act of 1995

H.R. 2525 / Public Law 104-63  
Charitable Gift Annuity Antitrust Relief Act of 1995

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<sup>1</sup> These items were not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.